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Lucianus Samosatensis

LUCIAN

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN EIGHT VOLUMES

I



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INTRODUCTION

LUCIAN was born at Samosata in Commagene and calls himself a Syrian; he may or may not have been of Semitic stock. The exact duration of his life is unknown, but it is probable that he was born not long before 125 A.D. and died not long after 180. Something of his life-history is given us in his own writings, notably in the *Dream*, the *Doubly Indicted*, the *Fisher*, and the *Apology*. If what he tells us in the *Dream* is to be taken seriously (and it is usually so taken), he began his career as apprentice to his uncle, a sculptor, but soon became disgusted with his prospects in that calling and gave it up for Rhetoric, the branch of the literary profession then most in favour. Theoretically the vocation of a rhetorician was to plead in court, to compose pleas for others and to teach the art of pleading; but in practice his vocation was far less important in his own eyes and those of the public than his avocation, which consisted in going about from place to place

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and often from country to country displaying his ability as a speaker before the educated classes. In this way Lucian travelled through Ionia and Greece, to Italy and even to Gaul, and won much wealth and fame. Samples of his repertory are still extant among his works—declamations like the *Phalaris*, essays on abstract themes like *Slander*, descriptions, appreciations, and depreciations. But although a field like this afforded ample scope for the ordinary rhetorician, it could not display the full talent of a Lucian. His bent for satire, which crops out even in his writings of this period, had to find expression, and ultimately found it in the satiric dialogue. In a sense, then, what he says is true, that he abandoned Rhetoric: but only in a very limited sense. In reality he changed only his repertory, not his profession, for his productions continued to be presented in the same manner and for the same purpose as of old—from a lecture-platform to entertain an audience.

Rightly to understand and appreciate Lucian, one must recognise that he was not a philosopher nor even a moralist, but a rhetorician, that his mission in life was not to reform society nor to chastise it, but simply to amuse it. He himself admits on every page that he is serious only in his desire to please, and he would answer all charges but that of dullness

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with an οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῃ. Judged from his own stand-point, he is successful; not only in his own times but in all the ensuing ages his witty, well-phrased comments on life, more akin to comedy than to true satire, have brought him the applause that he craved.

Among the eighty-two pieces that have come down to us under the name of Lucian, there are not a few of which his authorship has been disputed. Certainly spurious are *Halcyon*, *Nero*, *Philopatris*, and *Astrology*; and to these, it seems to me, the *Consonants at Law* should be added. Furthermore, *Demosthenes*, *Charidemus*, *Cynic*, *Love*, *Octogenarians*, *Hippias*, *Ungrammatical Man*, *Swiftfoot*, and the epigrams are generally considered spurious, and there are several others (*Disowned* and *My Country* in particular) which, to say the least, are of doubtful authenticity.

Beside satiric dialogues, which form the bulk of his work, and early rhetorical writings, we have from the pen of Lucian two romances, *A True Story* and *Lucius, or the Ass* (if indeed the latter is his), some introductions to readings and a number of miscellaneous treatises. Very few of his writings can be dated with any accuracy. An effort to group them on a chronological basis has been made by

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M. Croiset, but it cannot be called entirely successful. The order in which they are to be presented in this edition is that followed in the best manuscripts, which, through its adoption in Rabe's edition of the scholia to Lucian and in Nilén's edition of the text, bids fair to become standard.

There are a hundred and fifty manuscripts of Lucian, more or less, which give us a tradition that is fairly uniform but none too good. There is no satisfactory critical edition of Lucian except Nilén's, which is now in progress. His text will be followed in this edition where it is available ; elsewhere, that of Jacobitz (1851). The critical notes will record not only departures from Nilén or Jacobitz, as the case may be, but also their chief divergences from the manuscripts. In order that text and translation may as far as possible correspond, conjectures have been admitted with considerable freedom : for the fact that a good many of them bear the initials of the translator he need not apologize if they are good ; if they are not no apology will avail him. He is deeply indebted to Professor Edward Capps for reviewing his translation in the proof.

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Chief manuscripts :—

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- Harleianus 5694 (E).
- Laurentianus C. S. 77 (Φ).
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- Mutinensis 193 (S).
- Vaticanus 1324 (U).
- Laurentianus 57, 51 (L).

Principal editions :—

- Florentine, of 1496, the first edition.
- Hemsterhuys-Reitz, Amsterdam 1743, containing a Latin translation by Gesner, critical notes, variorum commentary and a word-index (C. C. Reitz, 1746).
- Lehmann, Leipzig 1822-1831, a convenient variorum edition which contains Gesner's translation but lacks Reitz's index.
- Jacobitz, Leipzig 1836-1841, with critical notes, a subject-index and a word-index ; it contains the scholia.
- Jacobitz, Leipzig 1851, in the Teubner series of classical texts.
- Bekker, Leipzig 1853.
- Dindorf, Leipzig 1858, in the Tauchnitz series.
- Fritzsche, Rostock 1860-1882, an incomplete edition containing only thirty pieces ; excellent critical notes and prolegomena.
- Sommerbrodt, Berlin 1886-1899, also incomplete, but lacking only fifteen pieces ; with critical appendices.
- Niilen, Leipzig 1906- , the new Teubner text, with very full critical notes ; it is to appear in eight parts, of which the first is out and the second in press.

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Croiset, *Essai sur la Vie et les Œuvres de Lucian*, Paris 1882.

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There are also very numerous editions and translations of selections from Lucian, of which no mention has been made, besides dissertations and essays. A survey of the Lucian literature for ten years back may be found in *Bursians Jahresbericht* 129 (1906), pp. 237-252, and 149 (1910), pp. 44-95.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

PHALARIS

This piece and its fellow should not be taken as a serious attempt to whitewash Phalaris and to excuse Delphi for accepting a tainted gift. They are good specimens of the stock of a rhetorician, and something more. To put yourself in another man's shoes and say what he would have said was a regular exercise of the schools, but to laugh in your sleeve as you said it was not the way of the ordinary rhetorician.

ΛΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ

· ΦΑΛΛΑΡΙΣ

A

Ἐπεμψεν ἡμᾶς, ὦ Δελφοί, ὁ ἡμέτερος δυνάσ- 1
της Φάλαρις ἄξοντας τῷ θεῷ τὸν ταῦρον τοῦτον καὶ
ὑμῖν διαλεξομένους τὰ εἰκότα ὑπέρ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου
καὶ ὑπέρ τοῦ ἀναθήματος. ὦν μὲν οὖν ἕνεκα
ἤκομεν, ταῦτά ἐστιν ἃ δέ γε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπέ-
στειλεν τάδε.¹

Ἐγώ, φησὶν, ὦ Δελφοί, καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς
Ἕλλησι τοιοῦτος ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι ὁποῖός εἰμι,
ἀλλὰ μὴ ὁποῖον ἢ παρὰ τῶν μισούντων καὶ φθο-
νούντων φήμη ταῖς τῶν ἀγνοούντων ἀκοαῖς παρα-
δέδωκεν, ἀντὶ τῶν πάντων ἀλλαξαίμην ἄν, μάλιστα
δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅσφ' ἱεροὶ τέ ἐστε καὶ πάρεδροι τοῦ
Πυθίου καὶ μόνον οὐ σύνοικοι καὶ ὁμωρόφιοι τοῦ
θεοῦ. ἡγοῦμαι γάρ, εἰ ὑμῖν ἀπολογησαίμην καὶ
πείσαιμι μάτην ὤμῳς ὑπειλήφθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἅπασι δι' ὑμῶν ἀπολελογημένος ἔσεσθαι. καλῶ
δὲ ὦν ἐρῶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν μάρτυρα, ὃν οὐκ ἐνι
δῇ που παραλογίσασθαι καὶ ψευδεῖ λόγῳ παρα-

¹ τάδε Herwerden: not in MSS. Lacuna noted by
E. Schwartz, Nilén.

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PHALARIS

I

MEN of Delphi, we have been sent by our ruler Phalaris to bring your god this bull, and to say to you what should be said about Phalaris himself and about his gift. That is why we are here, then ; and what he told us to tell you is this :

‘ For my part, men of Delphi, to have all the Greeks think me the sort of man I am, and not the sort that rumour, coming from those who hate and envy me, has made me out to the ears of strangers, would please me better than anything else in the world ; above all, to have *you* think me what I am, as you are priests and associates of Apollo, and (one might almost say) live in his house and under his roof-tree. I feel that if I clear myself before you and convince you that there was no reason to think me cruel, I shall have cleared myself through you before the rest of the Greeks. And I call your god himself to witness what I am about to say. Of

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γαγεῖν· ἀνθρώπους μὲν γὰρ ἴσως ἐξαπατῆσαι
ῥάδιον, θεὸν δέ, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτον, διαλαθεῖν
ἀδύνατον.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ τῶν ἀφανῶν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι ὢν, 2
ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος εὖ γεγονῶς καὶ τραφεὶς
ἐλευθερίως καὶ παιδείᾳ προσεσχηκῶς, αἰεὶ διετέλουν
τῇ μὲν πόλει δημοτικὸν ἑμαυτὸν παρέχων, τοῖς δὲ
συμπολιτευομένοις ἐπιεικῇ καὶ μέτριον, βίαιον δὲ
ἢ σκαιὸν ἢ ὑβριστικὸν ἢ αὐθέκαστον οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν
ἐπεκάλει μου τῷ προτέρῳ ἐκείνῳ βίῳ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
ἑώρων τοὺς τάναντία μοι πολιτευομένους ἐπιβου-
λεύοντας καὶ ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου ἀνελεῖν με
ζητοῦντας—διήρητο δὲ ἡμῶν τότε ἡ πόλις—μίαν
ταύτην ἀποφυγὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν εὗρισκον, τὴν
αὐτὴν ἅμα καὶ τῇ πόλει σωτηρίαν, εἰ ἐπιθέμενος
τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐκείνους μὲν ἀναστείλαιμι καὶ παύσαιμι
ἐπιβουλεύοντας, τὴν πόλιν δὲ σωφρονεῖν καταναγ-
κάσαιμι· καὶ ἦσαν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι ταῦτα ἐπαι-
νούντες, ἄνδρες μέτριοι καὶ φιλοπόλιδες, οἱ καὶ
τὴν γνώμην ἤδεσαν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως
τὴν ἀνάγκην· τοῦτοις οὖν¹ συναγωνισταῖς χρη-
σάμενος ῥαδίως ἐκράτησα.²

Τοῦντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐτάραττον, ἀλλ' 3
ὑπήκουον, ἐγὼ δὲ ἦρχον, ἡ πόλις δὲ ἀστασίαστος
ἦν. σφαγὰς δὲ ἡ ἐλάσεις ἡ δημεύσεις οὐδὲ κατὰ τῶν
ἐπιβεβουλευκότων εἰργαζόμεν, καίτοι ἀναγκαῖον
ὄν³ τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμᾶν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς δυναστείας

¹ οὖν Nilén : not in MSS.

² ἐκράτησα Herwerden : ἐκράτησα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως MSS.

³ ὄν Nilén : not in MSS.

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course he cannot be tripped by fallacies and misled by falsehoods : for although mere men are no doubt easy to cheat, a god (and above all this god) cannot be hoodwinked.

‘ I was not one of the common people in Acragas, but was as well-born, as delicately brought up and as thoroughly educated as anyone. Never at any time did I fail to display public spirit toward the city, and discretion and moderation toward my fellow-citizens ; and no one ever charged me with a single violent, rude, insolent, or overbearing action during that period of my life. But when I saw that the men of the opposite party were plotting against me and trying in every way to get rid of me—our city was split into factions at the time—I found only one means of escape and safety, in which lay also the salvation of the city : it was to put myself at the head of the state, curb those men and check their plotting, and force the city to be reasonable. As there were not a few who commended this plan, men of sense and patriotism who understood my purpose and the necessity of the coup, I made use of their assistance and easily succeeded.

‘ From that time on the others made no more trouble, but gave obedience ; I ruled, and the city was free from party strife. Executions, banishments and confiscations I did not employ even against the former conspirators, although a man must bring

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μάλιστα. φιланθρωπία γὰρ καὶ πραότητι καὶ τῷ
 ἡμέρῳ καὶ ἰσοτιμίας θαυμασίως ἐγὼ ἡλπίζον ἐς
 τὸ πείθεσθαι προσάξεσθαι τούτους. εὐθύς γοῦν
 τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ἐσπέισμην καὶ διηλλάγμην, καὶ
 συμβούλοις καὶ συνεστίοις ἐχρώμην τοῖς πλείστοις
 αὐτῶν. τὴν δὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν ὁρῶν ὀλιγωρία τῶν
 προεστώτων διεφθαρμένην, τῶν πολλῶν κλεπ-
 τόντων, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀρπαζόντων τὰ κοινά, ὑδάτων
 τε ἐπιρροαῖαι ἀνεκτησάμην καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων
 ἀναστάσεις ἐκόσμησα καὶ τειχῶν περιβολῇ
 ἐκράτυνα καὶ τὰς προσόδους, ὅσαι ἦσαν κοιναί,
 τῇ τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἐπιμελείᾳ ῥαδίως ἐπηύξησα
 καὶ τῆς νεολαίας ἐπεμελούμην καὶ τῶν γερόντων
 προϋνόουν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐν θέαις καὶ διανομαῖς
 καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ δημοθoinίαις διήγον, ὕβρεις
 δὲ παρθένων ἢ ἐφήβων διαφθοραὶ ἢ γυναικῶν
 ἀπαγωγαὶ ἢ δορυφόρων ἐπιπέμψεις ἢ δεσποτική
 τις ἀπειλὴ ἀποτρόπαιά μοι καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἦν.
 ἤδη δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ 4
 καταθέσθαι τὴν δυναστείαν ἐσκοπούμην, ὅπως
 μόνον ἀσφαλῶς παύσαιτο ἂν τις ἐννοῶν, ἐπεὶ τό-
 γε ἀρχεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ πάντα πράττειν ἐπαχθὲς ἤδη
 καὶ σὺν φθόνῳ καματηρὸν ἐδόκει μοι εἶναι· τὸ
 δ' ὅπως μηκέτι τοιαύτης τινὸς θεραπείας δεήσεται
 ἡ πόλις, τοῦτ' ἐζήτουν ἔτι. καὶ γὰρ μὲν ὁ ἀρχαῖος
 περὶ ταῦτα εἶχον, οἱ δὲ ἤδη τε συνίσταντο ἐπ'
 ἐμέ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ἀπο-
 στάσεως ἐσκοποῦντο καὶ συνωμοσίας συνεκρότου
 καὶ ὅπλα ἡθροίζον καὶ χρήματα ἐπορίζοντο καὶ
 τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ εἰς τὴν

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himself to take such measures in the beginning of a reign more than at any other time. I had marvellous hopes of getting them to listen to me by my humanity, mildness and good-nature, and through the impartiality of my favour. At the outset, for instance, I came to an understanding with my enemies and laid aside hostility, taking most of them as counsellors and intimates. As for the city, perceiving that it had been brought to rack and ruin through the neglect of those in office, because everybody was robbing or rather plundering the state, I restored it by building aqueducts, adorned it with buildings and strengthened it with walls; the revenues of the state I readily increased through the diligence of my officials; I cared for the young, provided for the old, and entertained the people with shows, gifts, festivals and banquets. Even to hear of girls wronged, boys led astray, wives carried off, guardsmen with warrants, or any form of despotic threat made me throw up my hands in horror. I was already planning to resign my office and lay down my authority, thinking only how one might stop with safety; for being governor and managing everything began to seem to me unpleasant in itself and, when attended by jealousy, a burden to the flesh. I was still seeking, however, to ensure that the city would never again stand in need of such ministrations. But while I in my simplicity was engaged in all this, the others were already combining against me, planning the manner of their plot and uprising, organizing bands of conspirators, collecting arms, raising money, asking the aid of men in neighbouring towns, and sending embassies

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Ἑλλάδα παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐπρεσβεύοντο· ἃ μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἑμοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰ ληφθεῖην, ἐδέδοκτο ἤδη αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅπως με αὐτοχειρία διασπάσσεσθαι ἠπείλουν καὶ ἅς κολάσεις ἐπενόουν, δημοσία στρεβλούμενοι ἐξείπον. τοῦ μὲν δὴ μηδὲν παθεῖν τοιοῦτον οἱ θεοὶ αἴτιοι φωράσαντες τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ ὁ Πύθιος ὀνείρατά τε προδείξας καὶ τοὺς μνηύοντας ἕκαστα ἐπιπέμπων.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ὑμᾶς, ὦ Δελφοί, ἐπὶ τοῦ 5 αὐτοῦ δέους νῦν τῷ λογισμῷ γενομένους ἀξιῶ περὶ τῶν τότε πρακτέων μοι συμβουλευσαί, ὅτε ἀφύλακτος ὀλίγου δεῖν ληφθεὶς ἐξήτουν τινὰ σωτηρίαν περὶ τῶν παρόντων. πρὸς ὀλίγον οὖν τῇ γνώμῃ ἐς Ἀκράγαντα παρ' ἐμὲ ἀποδημήσαντες καὶ ἰδόντες τὰς παρασκευὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἀκούσαντες εἶπατε τί δεῖ¹ ποιεῖν; φιланθρωπία χρῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔτι καὶ φεῖδεσθαι καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι ὅσον αὐτίκα μελλήσοντα πείσεσθαι τὰ ὕστατα; μᾶλλον δὲ γυμνὴν ἤδη ὑπέχειν τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ τὰ φίλτατα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾶν ἀπολλύμενα; ἢ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα πάνν ἡλιθίου τινὸς εἶναι, γενναῖα δὲ καὶ ἀνδρώδη διανοηθέντα καὶ χολὴν ἐμφρονος καὶ ἡδικημένου ἀνδρὸς ἀναλαβόντα μετελθεῖν ἐκείνους, ἐμναυτῷ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων τὴν ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ ὀν ἀσφάλειαν παρασχεῖν; ταῦτ' οἶδ' ὅτι συνεβουλευσατε ἄν.

Τί οὖν ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησα; μεταστει- 6 λάμενος τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ λόγου μεταδοὺς αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους παραγαγὼν καὶ σαφῶς ἐξε-

¹ δεῖ MSS. : ἔδει Cobet.

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to Greece, to the Spartans and the Athenians. What they had already resolved to do with me if they caught me, how they had threatened to tear me to pieces with their own hands, and what punishments they had devised for me, they confessed in public on the rack. For the fact that I met no such fate I have the gods to thank, who exposed the plot: above all, Apollo, who showed me dreams and also sent me men to interpret them fully.

‘At this point I ask you, men of Delphi, to imagine yourselves now as alarmed as I was then, and to give me your advice as to what I should have done when I had almost been taken off my guard and was trying to save myself from the situation. Transport yourselves, then, in fancy to my city of Acragas for a while; see their preparations, hear their threats, and tell me what to do. Use them with humanity? Spare them and put up with them when I am on the point of meeting my death the very next moment—nay, proffer my naked throat, and see my nearest and dearest slain before my eyes? Would not that be sheer imbecility, and should not I, with high and manly resolution and the anger natural to a man of sense who has been wronged, bring those men to book and provide for my own future security as best I may in the situation? That is the advice that I know you would have given me.

‘Well, what did I do then? I summoned the men implicated, gave them a hearing, brought in the evidence, and clearly convicted them on each count;

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λέγξας ἕκαστα, ἐπεὶ μὴδ' αὐτοὶ ἔτι ἔξαρνοι ἦσαν, ἡμυνόμεν ἄγανακτῶν τὸ πλεόν οὐχ ὅτι ἐπεβεβουλευμένη, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ εἰάθην ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ προαιρέσει μεῖναι, ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνεστησάμην. καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου φυλάττων μὲν ἔμαντὸν διατελῶ, ἐκείνων δὲ τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντάς μοι κολάζων. εἴθ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐμὲ τῆς ὁμότητος αἰτιῶνται οὐκέτι λογιζόμενοι παρὰ ποτέρου ἡμῶν ἢ ἡ πρώτη τούτων ἀρχή, συνελόντες δὲ τὰν μέσφ' καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐκολάζοντο τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτὰς ἡτιῶντο καὶ τὰς δοκούσας ἐν αὐταῖς ὁμότητας, ὅμοιον ὡς εἴ τις παρ' ὑμῖν ἱερὸν σὺλόν τινα ἰδὼν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας ῥιπτόμενον ἂ μὲν ἐτόλμησε μὴ λογιζοίτο, ὡς νύκτωρ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν παρῆλθε καὶ κατέσπασε τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ τοῦ ξοάνου ἤψατο, κατηγοροίη δὲ ὑμῶν πολλὴν τὴν ἀγριότητα, ὅτι Ἕλληνές τε καὶ ἱεροὶ εἶναι λέγοντες ὑπεμείνατε ἄνθρωπον Ἕλληνα πλησίον τοῦ ἱεροῦ —καὶ γὰρ οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως εἶναι λέγεται ἡ πέτρα—κολάσει τοιαύτη περιβαλεῖν. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, αὐτοὶ καταγελάσεσθε, ἣν ταῦτα λέγει τις καθ' ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπαινέσονται ὑμῶν τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβούντων ὁμότητα.

Τὸ δ' ὅλον οἱ δῆμοι οὐκ ἐξετάζοντες ὁποῖός 7
τις ὁ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφeskτῶς ἐστίν, εἴτε δίκαιος
εἴτε ἄδικος, αὐτὸ ἀπλῶς τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ὄνομα
μισοῦσι καὶ τὸν τύραννον, καὶ Ἀϊακὸς ἢ Μίνως ἢ
Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ, ὁμοίως ἐξ ἅπαντος ἀνελεῖν σπεύ-
δουσιν, τοὺς μὲν ποιηροὺς αὐτῶν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν
τιθέμενοι, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς προση-
γορίας τῷ ὁμοίῳ μίσει συμπεριλαμβάνοντες. ἐγὼ
γούν ἀκούω καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἕλλησι πολλοὺς

PHALARIS I

and then, as they themselves no longer denied the charge, I avenged myself, angry in the main, not because they had plotted against me, but because they had not let me abide by the plan which I had made in the beginning. From that time I have continued to protect myself and to punish those of my opponents who plot against me at any time. And then men charge me with cruelty, forgetting to consider which of us began it ! Suppressing all that went before, which caused them to be punished, they always censured the punishments in themselves and their seeming cruelty. It is as if someone among yourselves should see a temple-robber thrown over the cliff, and should not take into account what he had dared to do—how he had entered the temple at night, had pulled down the offerings, and had laid hands on the image—but should accuse you of great barbarity on the ground that you, who call yourselves Greeks and priests, countenanced the infliction of such a punishment on a fellow-Greek hard by the temple (for they say that the cliff is not very far from the city). Why, you yourselves will laugh at any man who makes this charge against you, I am sure ; and the rest of the world will praise you for your severity towards the impious.

‘Peoples in general, without trying to find out what sort of man the head of the state is, whether just or unjust, simply hate the very name of tyranny, and even if the tyrant is an Aeacus, a Minos or a Rhadamanthus they make every effort to put him out of the way just the same, for they fix their eyes on the bad tyrants and include the good in equal hatred by reason of the common title. Yet I hear that among you Greeks there have been many

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γενέσθαι τυράννους σοφούς ὑπὸ φαύλῳ ὀνόματι
δοκοῦντι χρηστὸν καὶ ἡμερον ἦθος ἐπιδεδειγμένους,
ὧν ἐνίων καὶ λόγους εἶναι βραχεῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὕμῳ
ἀποκειμένους, ἀγάλματα καὶ ἀναθήματα τῷ
Πυθίῳ.

Ὅρατε δὲ καὶ τοὺς νομοθέτας τῷ κολα- 8
στικῷ εἶδει τὸ πλεόν νέμοντας, ὡς τῶν γε ἄλλων
οὐδὲν ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ ὁ φόβος προσείη καὶ ἐλπίς
τῆς κολάσεως. ἡμῖν δὲ τοῦτο πολλῷ ἀναγκαιό-
τερον τοῖς τυράννοις, ὅσῳ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἐξηγου-
μεθα καὶ μισοῦσί τε ἅμα καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν
ἀνθρώποις σύνεσμεν, ὅπου μὴδὲ τῶν μορμολυκείων
ὄφελός τι ἡμῖν γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ περὶ τῆς Ὑδρας
μύθῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔοικεν· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν ἐκκόπτωμεν,
τοσῶδε πλείους ἡμῖν ἀναφύονται τοῦ κολάζειν
ἀφορμαί. φέρειν δὲ ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ ἀναφυόμενον
ἐκκόπτειν αἰεὶ καὶ ἐπικαίειν νῆ Δία κατὰ τὸν
Ίόλεων, εἰ μέλλομεν ἐπικρατήσειν· τὸν γὰρ ἅπαξ
εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμπεσεῖν ἠναγκασμένον ὅμοιον χρὴ
τῇ ὑποθέσει καὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἣ φειδόμενον τῶν
πλησίον ἀπολωλέναι. ὅλως δέ, τίνα οἶεσθε οὕτως
ἄγριον ἢ ἀνήμερον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι ὡς ἡδεσθαι
μαστιγοῦντα καὶ οἰμωγῶν ἀκούοντα καὶ σφαττο-
μένους ὁρῶντα, εἰ μὴ ἔχοι τινὰ μεγάλην τοῦ κολά-
ζειν αἰτίαν; ποσάκις γοῦν ἐδάκρυσα μαστιγουμένων
ἄλλων, ποσάκις δὲ θρηνεῖν καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι τὴν
ἐμαυτοῦ τύχην ἀναγκάζομαι μείζω κόλασιν αὐτὸς
καὶ χρονιωτέραν ὑπομένων; ἀνδρὶ γὰρ φύσει μὲν
ἀγαθῷ, διὰ δὲ ἀνάγκην πικρῷ, πολὺ τοῦ κολά-
ζεσθαι τὸ κολάζειν χαλεπώτερον,

PHALARIS I

wise tyrants who, under a name of ill-repute have shown a good and kindly character; and even that brief sayings of some of them are deposited in your temple as gifts and oblations to Pythius.

‘You will observe that legislators lay most stress on the punitive class of measures, naturally because no others are of any use if unattended by fear and the expectation of punishment. With us tyrants this is all the more necessary because we govern by force and live among men who not only hate us but plot against us, in an environment where even the bugaboos we set up do not help us. Our case is like the story of the Hydra: the more heads we lop, the more occasions for punishing grow up under our eyes. We must needs make the best of it and lop each new growth—yes, and sear it, too, like Iolaus,¹ if we are to hold the upper hand; for when a man has once been forced into a situation of this sort, he must adapt himself to his rôle or lose his life by being merciful to his neighbours. In general, do you suppose that any man is so barbarous and savage as to take pleasure in flogging, in hearing groans and in seeing men slaughtered, if he has not some good reason for punishing? How many times have I not shed tears while others were being flogged? How many times have I not been forced to lament and bewail my lot in undergoing greater and more protracted punishment than they? When a man is kindly by nature and harsh by necessity, it is much harder for him to punish than to be punished.

¹ The helper of Hercules in the story.

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Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μετὰ παρρησίας εἰπεῖν, ἐγὼ μὲν, εἰ 9
 αἵρεσίς μοι προτεθείη, πότερα βούλομαι, κολάζειν
 τινὰς ἀδίκως ἢ αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖν, εὖ ἴστε ὥς οὐδὲν
 μελλήσας ἐλοίμην ἂν τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ μηδὲν
 ἀδικοῦντας κολάζειν. εἰ δέ τις φαίη, Βούλει, ὦ
 Φάλαρι, τεθνάναι αὐτὸς ἀδίκως ἢ δικαίως κολάζειν
 τοὺς ἐπιβούλους; τοῦτο βουλοίμην ἂν· αὐτῆς γὰρ
 ὑμᾶς, ὦ Δελφοί, συμβούλους καλῶ, πότερον
 ἄμεινον εἶναι ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἀδίκως σῶζειν
 τὸν ἐπιβεβουλευκότα; οὐδεὶς οὕτως, οἶμαι, ἀνόητός
 ἐστίν ὃς οὐκ ἂν προτιμήσειε ζῆν μᾶλλον ἢ σῶζον
 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀπολωλέναι. καίτοι πόσους ἐγὼ
 καὶ τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων μοι καὶ φανερώς ἐλληλεγ-
 μένων ὅμως ἔσωσα; οἶον Ἀκανθὸν τουτονὶ καὶ
 Τιμοκράτη καὶ Λεωγόραν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ,
 παλαιᾶς συνηθείας τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς μνημονεύσας.
 "Ὅταν δὲ βουλευθῆτε τοῦμὸν εἰδέναί, τοὺς 10
 εἰσφοιτῶντας εἰς Ἀκράγαντα ξένους ἐρωτήσατε
 ὁποῖος ἐγὼ περὶ αὐτοὺς εἶμι καὶ εἰ φιλανθρώπως
 προσφέρομαι τοῖς καταίρουσιν, ὃς γε καὶ σκοποὺς
 ἐπὶ τῶν λιμένων ἔχω καὶ πευθῆνας, τίνες ὅθεν
 καταπεπλεύκασιν, ὥς κατ' ἀξίαν τιμῶν ἀποπέμ-
 ποιμι αὐτούς. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες φοιτῶσι
 παρ' ἐμέ, οἱ σοφώτατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ οὐ
 φεύγουσι τὴν συνουσίαν τὴν ἐμήν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει
 καὶ πρῶν ὁ σοφὸς Πυθαγόρας ἤκεν ὥς ἡμᾶς,
 ἄλλα μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀκηκοώς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπειράθη,
 ἀπῆλθεν ἐπαινῶν με τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐλεῶν
 τῆς ἀναγκαίας ὁμότητος. εἶτα οἶεσθε τὸν πρὸς
 τοὺς ὀθνεῖους φιλάνθρωπον οὕτως ἂν πικρῶς¹ τοῖς

¹ ἂν πικρῶς Herwerden : ἀδίκως MSS.

PHALARIS I

‘For my part, if I may speak freely, in case I were offered the choice between inflicting unjust punishment and being put to death myself, you may be very certain that without delay I should choose to die rather than to punish the innocent. But if someone should say: ‘Phalaris, choose between meeting an unjust death and inflicting just punishment on conspirators,’ I should choose the latter; for—once more I call upon you for advice, men of Delphi—is it better to be put to death unjustly, or to pardon conspirators unjustly? Nobody, surely, is such a simpleton as not to prefer to live rather than to pardon his enemies and die. But how many men who made attempts on me and were clearly convicted of it have I not pardoned in spite of everything? So it was with Acanthus, whom you see before you, and Timocrates and his brother Leogoras, for I remembered my old-time friendship with them.

‘When you wish to know my side, ask the strangers who visit Acragas how I am with them, and whether I treat visitors kindly. Why, I even have watchmen at the ports, and agents to enquire who people are and where they come from, so that I may speed them on their way with fitting honours. Some (and they are the wisest of the Greeks) come to see me of their own free will instead of shunning my society. For instance, just the other day the wise man Pythagoras came to us; he had heard a different story about me, but when he had seen what I was like he went away praising me for my justice and pitying me for my necessary severity. Then do you think that a man who is kind to

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οἰκείοις προσφέρεσθαι, εἰ μή τι διαφερόντως ἡδίκητο;

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ ἀπολελόγημαι 11
 ὑμῖν, ἀληθῆ καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἐπαίνου μᾶλλον, ὥς
 ἑμαυτὸν πείθω, ἢ μίσους ἄξια. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ἀναθή-
 ματος καιρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως τὸν
 ταῦρον τοῦτον ἐκτησάμην, οὐκ ἐκδούς αὐτὸς τῷ
 ἀνδριαντοποιῷ—μὴ γὰρ οὕτω μανείην, ὥς τοιού-
 των ἐπιθυμῆσαι κτημάτων—ἀλλὰ Περίλαος ἦν
 τις ἡμεδαπός, χαλκεὺς μὲν ἀγαθός, πονηρὸς δὲ
 ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος πάμπλου τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης
 διημαρτηκὼς ᾤετο χαριεῖσθαι μοι, εἰ καινὴν τινα
 κόλασιν ἐπινοήσειεν, ὥς ἐξ ἅπαντος κολάζειν
 ἐπιθυμοῦντι. καὶ δὴ κατασκευάσας τὸν βούν ἡκέ
 μοι κομίζων κάλλιστον ἰδεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέ-
 τατον εἰκασμένον· κινήσεως γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μυκηθ-
 μοῦ ἔδει μόνον πρὸς τὸ καὶ ἔμφυχον εἶναι δοκεῖν.
 ἰδὼν δὲ ἀνέκραγον εὐθύς, ἄξιον τὸ κτῆμα τοῦ
 Πυθίου, πεμπτέος ὁ ταῦρος τῷ θεῷ. ὁ δὲ Περίλαος
 παρεστώς, τί δ' εἰ μάθοις, ἔφη, τὴν σοφίαν τὴν
 ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν ἣν παρέχεται; καὶ ἀνοίξας
 ἅμα τὸν ταῦρον κατὰ τὰ νῶτα, Ἦν τινα, ἔφη,
 κολάζειν ἐθέλης, ἐμβιβάσας εἰς τὸ μηχανήμα
 τοῦτο καὶ κατακλείσας προστιθέναι μὲν τοὺς
 αὐλοὺς τοῦσδε πρὸς τοὺς μυξωτήρας τοῦ βοός, πῦρ
 δὲ ὑποκαίειν κελεύειν, καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰμώζεται καὶ
 βοήσεται ἀλήκτοις ταῖς ὀδύναις ἐχόμενος, ἡ βοή
 δὲ διὰ τῶν αὐλῶν μέλη σοι ἀποτελέσει οἷα λυγρώ-
 τατα καὶ ἐπαυλήσει θρηνῶδες καὶ μυκήσεται
 γοερῶτατον, ὥς τὸν μὲν κολάζεσθαι, σὲ δὲ τέρπε-
 σθαι μεταξὺ καταυλούμενον. ἐγὼ δὲ ὥς τοῦτο 12
 ἤκουσα, ἐμυσάχθην τὴν κακομηχανίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς

PHALARIS I

foreigners would treat his fellow-countrymen so harshly if he had not been exceptionally wronged?

‘So much for what I had to say to you in my own behalf; it is true and just and, I flatter myself, merits praise rather than hatred. As for my gift, it is time you heard where and how I got this bull. I did not order it of the sculptor myself—I hope I may never be so insane as to want such things!—but there was a man in our town called Perilaus, a good metal-worker but a bad man. Completely missing my point of view, this fellow thought to do me a favour by inventing a new punishment, imagining that I wanted to punish people in any and every way. So he made the bull and came to me with it, a very beautiful thing to look at and a very close copy of nature; motion and voice were all it needed to make it seem actually alive. At the sight of it I cried out at once: “The thing is good enough for Apollo; we must send the bull to the god!” But Perilaus at my elbow said: “What if you knew the trick of it and the purpose it serves?” With that he opened the bull’s back and said: “If you wish to punish anyone, make him get into this contrivance and lock him up; then attach these flutes to the nose of the bull and have a fire lighted underneath. The man will groan and shriek in the grip of unremitting pain, and his voice will make you the sweetest possible music on the flutes, piping dolefully and lowing piteously; so that while he is punished you are entertained by having flutes played to you.” When I heard this I was disgusted with the wicked ingenuity of the fellow and hated the idea of the

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καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἐμίσησα τοῦ κατασκευάσματος καὶ οἰκείαν αὐτῷ τιμωρίαν ἐπέθηκα· καί, Ἄγε δὴ, ἔφην, ὦ Περίλαε, εἰ μὴ κενὴ ἄλλως ὑπόσχεσις ταῦτά ἐστι, δείξον ἡμῖν αὐτὸς εἰσελθὼν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς τέχνης καὶ μίμησαι τοὺς βοῶντας, ἵν' εἰδῶμεν εἰ καὶ ἃ φῆς μέλη· διὰ τῶν αὐλῶν φθέγγεται· πείθεται μὲν ταῦτα ὁ Περίλαος, ἐγὼ δέ, ἐπεὶ ἔνδον ἦν, κατακλείσας αὐτὸν πῦρ ὑφάπτειν ἐκέλευον, Ἀπολάμβανε, εἰπὼν, τὸν ἄξιον μισθὸν τῆς θαυμαστῆς σου τέχνης, ἵν' ὁ διδάσκαλος τῆς μουσικῆς πρῶτος αὐτὸς αὐλῆς· καὶ ὁ μὲν δίκαια ἔπασχεν ἀπολαύων τῆς αὐτοῦ εὐμηχανίας· ἐγὼ δὲ ἔτι ἔμπνουν καὶ ζῶντα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξαιρεθῆναι κέλεύσας, ὡς μὴ μιάνειε τὸ ἔργον ἐναποθανόν, ἐκείνον μὲν ἄταφον κατὰ κρημνῶν ρίπτειν ἐκέλευσα, καθήρας δὲ τὸν βοῦν ἀνέπεμψα ὑμῖν ἀνατεθῆσθαι τῷ θεῷ· καὶ ἐπιγράψαι γε ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσα τὴν πᾶσαν διήγησιν, τοῦ ἀνατιθέντος ἐμοῦ τοῦνομα, τὸν τεχνίτην τὸν Περίλαον, τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τὴν ἐκείνου, τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐμήν, τὴν πρέπουσαν τιμωρίαν, τὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ χαλκέως μέλη, τὴν πρώτην πείραν τῆς μουσικῆς.

Ἔμεις δέ, ὦ Δελφοί, δίκαια ποιήσετε θύσαντες μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μετὰ τῶν πρέσβειων, ἀναθέντες δὲ τὸν ταῦρον ἐν καλῷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ὡς πάντες εἰδείεν οἷος ἐγὼ πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς εἰμι καὶ ὅπως ἀμύνομαι τὰς περιττὰς ἐς κακίαν ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν· ἱκανὸν γοῦν καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δηλώσαί μου τὸν τρόπον, Περίλαος κολασθεὶς καὶ ὁ ταῦρος ἀνατεθεὶς καὶ μηκέτι φυλαχθεὶς πρὸς ἄλλων κολαζομένων αὐλήματα μηδὲ μελωδήσας ἄλλο ἔτι πλὴν μόνον τὰ τοῦ τεχνίτου μυκήματα, καὶ ὅτι ἐν μόνῳ

PHALARIS I

contrivance, so I gave him a punishment that fitted his crime. "Come now, Perilaus," said I, "if this is not mere empty boasting, show us the real nature of the invention by getting into it yourself and imitating people crying out, so that we may know whether the music you speak of is really made on the flutes." Perilaus complied, and when he was inside, I locked him up and had a fire kindled underneath, saying: "Take the reward you deserve for your wonderful invention, and as you are our music-master, play the first tune yourself!" So he, indeed, got his deserts by thus having the enjoyment of his own ingenuity. But I had the fellow taken out while he was still alive and breathing, that he might not pollute the work by dying in it; then I had him thrown over a cliff to lie unburied, and after purifying the bull, sent it to you to be dedicated to the god. I also had the whole story inscribed on it—my name as the giver; that of Perilaus, the maker; his idea; my justice; the apt punishment; the songs of the clever metal-worker and the first trial of the music.

'You will do what is right, men of Delphi, if you offer sacrifice in my behalf with my ambassadors, and if you set the bull up in a fair place in the temple-close, that all may know how I deal with bad men and how I requite their extravagant inclinations toward wickedness. Indeed, this affair of itself is enough to show my character: Perilaus was punished, the bull was dedicated without being kept to pipe when others were punished and without having played any other tune than the bellowings of its

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αὐτῷ καὶ πείραν ἔλαβον τῆς τέχνης καὶ κατέπαυσα
τὴν ἄμουσον ἐκείνην καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον ὥδην. καὶ τὰ
μὲν παρόντα ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ τῷ θεῷ· ἀναθήσω
δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλάκις, ἐπειδάν μοι παράσχη
μηκέτι δεῖσθαι κολάσεων.

Ταῦτα μὲν, ὦ Δελφοί, τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Φαλά- 14
ριδος, ἀληθῆ πάντα καὶ οἷα ἐπράχθη ἕκαστα,
καὶ δίκαιοι ἂν εἶημεν πιστεῦεσθαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν
μαρτυροῦντες, ὡς ἂν καὶ εἰδότες καὶ μηδεμίαν τοῦ
ψεύδεσθαι νῦν αἰτίαν ἔχοντες. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ
δεηθῆναι ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς μάτην πονηροῦ δοκοῦντος
καὶ ἄκοντος κολάζειν ἡναγκασμένον, ἱκετεύομεν
ὑμᾶς ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι Ἕλληνες τε ὄντες καὶ
τὸ ἀρχαῖον Δωριεῖς, προσέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα φίλον
εἶναι ἐθέλοντα καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ
ἕκαστον ὑμῶν εὖ ποιῆσαι ὠρμημένον. λάβετε οὖν
αὐτοὶ τὸν ταῦρον καὶ ἀνάθετε καὶ εὐξασθε ὑπὲρ τε
τῆς Ἀκράγαντος καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Φαλάριδος, καὶ
μήτε ἡμᾶς ἀπράκτους ἀποπέμψητε μήτε ἐκείνον
ὑβρίσητε μήτε τὸν θεὸν ἀποστερήσητε καλλίστου
τε ἅμα καὶ δικαιοτάτου ἀναθήματος.

B

Οὔτε Ἀκραγαντίνων, ὦ ἄνδρες Δελφοί, πρό- 1
ξενος ὢν οὔτε ἰδιόξενος αὐτοῦ Φαλάριδος οὔτ'
ἄλλην ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ εὐνοίας ἰδίαν αἰτίαν ἢ
μελλούσης φιλίας ἐλπίδα, τῶν δὲ πρέσβων
ἀκούσας τῶν ἡκόντων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιεικῇ καὶ
μέτρια διεξιόντων, καὶ τὸ εὐσεβὲς ἅμα καὶ τὸ

PHALARIS II

maker, and his case sufficed me to try the invention and put an end to that uninspired, inhuman music. At present, this is what I offer the god, but I shall make many other gifts as soon as he permits me to dispense with punishments.'

This, men of Delphi, is the message from Phalaris, all of it true and everything just as it took place. You would be justified in believing our testimony, as we know the facts and have never yet had the reputation of being untruthful. But if it is necessary to resort to entreaty on behalf of a man who has been wrongly thought wicked and has been compelled to punish people against his will, then we, the people of Acragas, Greeks of Dorian stock, beseech you to grant him access to the sanctuary, for he wishes to be your friend and is inclined to confer many benefits on each and all of you. Take the bull then; dedicate it, and pray for Acragas and for Phalaris himself. Do not send us away unsuccessful or insult him or deprive the god of an offering³ at once most beautiful and most fitting.

II

I am neither an official representative of the people of Acragas, men of Delphi, nor a personal representative of Phalaris himself, and I have no private ground at all for good-will to him and no expectation of future friendship. But after listening to the reasonable and temperate story of the ambassadors who have come from him, I rise in the

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κοινῇ συμφέρον καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Δελφοῖς πρέπον
 προορώμενος ἀνέστην παραινέσων ὑμῖν μήτε
 ὑβρίζειν ἄνδρα δυνάστην εὖσεβοῦντα μήτε ἀνά-
 θημα ἤδη τῷ θεῷ καθωμολογημένον ἀπαλλοτριοῦν,
 καὶ ταῦτα τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ὑπόμνημα εἰς αἰεὶ
 γενησόμενον, τέχνης καλλίστης καὶ ἐπινοίας
 κακίστης καὶ δικαίας κολάσεως. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν 2
 καὶ τὸ ἐνδοιάσαι ὑμᾶς¹ ὅλως περὶ τούτου καὶ ἡμῖν
 προθεῖναι τὴν διάσκεψιν, εἰ χρὴ δέχεσθαι τὸ
 ἀνάθημα ἢ ὀπίσω αὐθις ἀποπέμπειν, ἀνόσιον ἤδη
 εἶναι νομίζω, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀσεβείας
 ἀπολελοιπέναι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ ἱεροσυλία
 τὸ πρᾶγμά ἐστι μακρῷ τῶν ἄλλων χαλεπωτέρα,
 ὅσῳ τοῦ τὰ ἤδη ἀνατεθέντα συλᾶν τὸ μηδὲ τὴν
 ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἀνατιθέναι βουλομένοις ἐπιτρέπειν
 ἀσεβέστερον.

Δέομαι δὲ ὑμῶν Δελφὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν καὶ 3
 τὸ ἴσον μετέχων τῆς τε δημοσίας εὐκλείας, εἰ
 φυλάττοιο, καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας δόξης, εἰ ἐκ τῶν
 παρόντων προσγένοιτο, μήτ' ἀποκλείειν τὸ ἱερὸν
 τοῖς εὖσεβοῦσι μήτε τὴν πόλιν πρὸς ἅπαντας
 ἀνθρώπους διαβάλλειν ὡς τὰ πεμπόμενα τῷ θεῷ
 συκοφαντοῦσαν καὶ ψήφῳ καὶ δικαστηρίῳ δο-
 κιμάζουσιν τοὺς ἀνατιθέντας· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔτι
 ἀναθεῖναι τολμήσειεν ἂν εἰδὼς οὐ προσησόμενον
 τὸν θεὸν ὃ τι ἂν μὴ πρότερον Δελφοῖς δοκῇ.
 ὁ μὲν οὖν Πύθιος τὴν δικαίαν ἤδη περὶ τοῦ 4
 ἀναθήματος ψήφον ἤνεγκεν· εἰ γοῦν ἐμίσει τὸν
 Φάλαριν ἢ τὸ δῶρον αὐτοῦ ἐμυσάττετο, ῥάδιον ἦν
 ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ μέσῳ καταδῦσαι αὐτὸ μετὰ τῆς ἀγού-
 σης ὀλκάδος, ὃ δὲ πολὺ τούναντίον ἐν εὐδία τε δια-

¹ ὑμᾶς MSS.: bracketed by Nilén, following E. Schwartz.

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interests of religion, of our common good and, above all, of the dignity of Delphi to exhort you neither to insult a devout monarch nor to put away a gift already pledged to the god, especially as it will be for ever a memorial of three very significant things—beautiful workmanship, wicked inventiveness, and just punishment. Even for you to hesitate about this matter at all and to submit us the question whether we should receive the gift or send it back again—even this I, for my part, consider impious; indeed, nothing short of extreme sacrilege, for the business is nothing else than temple-robbery, far more serious than other forms of it because it is more impious not to allow people to make gifts when they will than to steal gifts after they are made.

A man of Delphi myself and an equal participant in our public good name if we maintain it and in our disrepute if we acquire it from the present case, I beg you neither to lock the temple to worshippers nor to give the world a bad opinion of the city as one that quibbles over things sent the god, and tries givers by ballot and jury. No one would venture to give in future if he knew that the god would not accept anything not previously approved by the men of Delphi. As a matter of fact, Apollo has already voted justly about the gift. At any rate, if he hated Phalaris or loathed his present, he could easily have sunk it in the middle of the Ionian sea, along with the ship that carried it. But, quite to the contrary,

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περαιωθῆναι, ὥς φασι, παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς καὶ σῶς ἐς
 τὴν Κίρραν κατάραι. ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι προσίεται 5
 τὴν τοῦ μονάρχου εὐσέβειαν. χρὴ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς
 τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνῳ ψηφισαμένους προσθεῖναι καὶ τὸν
 ταῦρον τουτονὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ κόσμῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ· ἐπεὶ
 πάντων ἂν εἴη τοῦτο ἀτοπώτατον, πέμψαντά τινα
 μεγαλοπρεπὲς· οὕτω δῶρον θεῷ τὴν καταδικά-
 ζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ψῆφον λαβεῖν καὶ μισθὸν κομί-
 σασθαι τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸ κεκρίσθαι μηδὲ τοῦ ἀνα-
 τιθέναι ἄξιον.¹

Ὁ μὲν οὖν τάναντία μοι ἐγνωκώς, καθάπερ ἐκ 6
 τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος ἄρτι καταπεπλευκώς, σφαγὰς
 τινος καὶ βίας καὶ ἀρπαγὰς καὶ ἀπαγωγὰς
 ἐτραγώδει τοῦ τυράννου μόνον οὐκ αὐτόπτης
 γεγενῆσθαι λέγων, ὃν ἴσμεν οὐδ' ἄχρι τοῦ πλοίου
 ἀποδεδημηκότα. χρὴ δὲ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα μηδὲ τοῖς
 πεπονθέναι φάσκουσιν πάνυ πιστεύειν διηγου-
 μένοις—ἄδηλον γὰρ εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν—οὐχ 7
 ὅπως αὐτοὺς ἂ μὴ ἐπιστάμεθα κατηγορεῖν. εἰ δ'
 οὖν τι καὶ πέπρακται τοιοῦτον ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τοῦτ'
 οὐ Δελφοῖς ἀναγκαῖον πολυπραγμονεῖν, εἰ μὴ
 ἀντὶ ἱερέων ἤδη δικασταὶ εἶναι ἀξιούμεν καί, δέον
 θύειν καὶ τᾶλλα θεραπεύειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ συνανατι-
 θέναι εἰ πέμψειέ τις, σκοποῦντες καθήμεθα εἴ
 τινες τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόνιον δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως
 τυραννοῦνται.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐχέτω ὅπη βούλεται· 8
 ἡμῖν δὲ ἀναγκαῖον, οἶμαι, τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν
 εἰδέναι, ὅπως τε πάλαι διέκειτο καὶ ὅπως νῦν ἔχει
 καὶ τί ποιοῦσι λῶρον ἔσται· ὅτι μὲν δὴ ἐν κρημνοῖς

¹ ἄξιον Herwerden : ἄξιος MSS.

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he vouchsafed them a calm passage, they say, and a safe arrival at Cirrha. By this it is clear that he accepts the monarch's worship. You must cast the same vote as he, and add this bull to the other attractions of the temple: for it would be most preposterous that a man who has sent so magnificent a present to our god should get the sentence of exclusion from the sanctuary and should be paid for his piety by being pronounced unworthy even to make an oblation.

The man who holds the contrary opinion ranted about the tyrant's murders and assaults and robberies and abductions as if he had just put into port from Acragas, all but saying that he had been an eye-witness; we know, however, that he has not even been as far from home as the boat. We should not give such stories full credence even when told by those who profess to be the victims, for it is doubtful whether they are telling the truth. Much less should we ourselves play the accuser in matters of which we have no knowledge. But even if something of the sort has actually taken place in Sicily, we of Delphi need not trouble ourselves about it, unless we now want to be judges instead of priests, and when we should be sacrificing and performing the other divine services and helping to dedicate whatever anyone sends us, sit and speculate whether people on the other side of the Ionian sea are ruled justly or unjustly.

Let the situation of others be as it may: we, in my opinion, must needs realize our own situation—what it was of old, what it is now, and what we can do to better it. That we live on crags and cultivate

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τε οἰκοῦμεν αὐτοὶ καὶ πέτρας γεωργοῦμεν, οὐχ Ὅμηρον χρὴ περιμένειν δηλώσοντα ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ὁρᾶν πάρεστι ταῦτα. καὶ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ, βαθεῖ λιμῶ ἀεὶ συνήμεν ἄν, τὸ δ' ἱερὸν καὶ ὁ Πύθιος καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ οἱ θύοντες καὶ οἱ εὐσεβοῦντες, ταῦτα Δελφῶν τὰ πεδία, ταῦτα ἡ πρόσοδος, ἐντεῦθεν ἡ εὐπορία, ἐντεῦθεν αἱ τροφαί—χρὴ γὰρ τὰληθῆ πρὸς γε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς λέγειν—καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν, ἄσπαρτα ἡμῖν καὶ ἀνήροτα φύεται τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ γεωργῶ τῷ θεῷ, ὃς οὐ μόνον τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα παρέχει, ἀλλ' εἴ τι ἐν Φρυγίῃ ἢ Λυδοῖς ἢ Πέρσαις ἢ Ἀσσυρίοις ἢ Φοίνιξιν ἢ Ἰταλιώταις ἢ Ὑπερβορέοις αὐτοῖς, πάντα ἐς Δελφούς ἀφικνεῖται. καὶ τὰ δεύτερα μετὰ τὸν θεὸν ἡμεῖς τιμώμεθα ὑφ' ἀπάντων καὶ εὐποροῦμεν καὶ εὐδαιμονοῦμεν· ταῦτα τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ταῦτα τὸ μέχρι νῦν, καὶ μὴ παυσαίμεθά γε οὕτω βιοῦντες.

Μέμνηται δὲ οὐδεὶς πώποτε ψῆφον ὑπὲρ ἀναθήματος παρ' ἡμῖν ἀναδοθεῖσαν οὐδὲ κωλυθέντα τινὰ θύειν ἢ ἀνατιθέναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ', οἶμαι, καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ηὔξηται τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ὑπερπλουτεῖ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν. δεῖ τοίνυν μὴδ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι καινοτομεῖν μὴδὲν μὴδὲ παρὰ τὰ πάτρια νόμον καθιστάναι, φυλοκρινεῖν τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ 9

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rocks is something we need not wait for Homer to tell us—anyone can see it for himself.¹ As far as the land is concerned, we should always be cheek by jowl with starvation: the temple, the god, the oracle, the sacrificers and the worshippers—these are the grain-lands of Delphi, these are our revenue, these are the sources of our prosperity and of our subsistence. We should speak the truth among ourselves, at any rate! “Unsown and untilled,”² as the poets say, everything is grown for us with the god for our husbandman. Not only does he vouchsafe us the good things found among the Greeks, but every product of the Phrygians, the Lydians, the Persians, the Assyrians, the Phoenicians, the Italians and even the Hyperboreans comes to Delphi. And next to the god we are held in honour by all men, and we are prosperous and happy. Thus it was of old, thus it has been till now, and may we never cease leading this life!

Never in the memory of any man have we taken a vote on a gift, or prevented anyone from sacrificing or giving. For this very reason, I think, the temple has prospered extraordinarily and is excessively rich in gifts. Therefore we ought not to make any innovation in the present case and break precedents by setting up the practice of censoring gifts and looking into the pedigree of things that are sent

¹ “Rocky Pytho” is twice mentioned in the *Iliad* (2, 519; 9, 405). But Lucian is thinking particularly of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, toward the close of which (526f.) the Cretans whom Apollo has settled at Delphi ask him how they are to live; “for here is no lovely vine-land or fertile glebe.” He tells them that they have only to slaughter sheep, and all that men bring him shall be theirs.

² Homer, *Od.* 9, 109; 123.

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γενεαλογεῖν τὰ πεμπόμενα, ὅθεν καὶ ἀφ' ὅτου καὶ ὅποια, δεξαμένους δὲ ἀπραγμόνως ἀνατιθέναι ὑπηρετοῦντας ἀμφοῖν, καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς εὐσεβέσι.

Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Δελφοί, ἄριστα βουλευέσθαι¹ περὶ τῶν παρόντων, εἰ λογίσαισθε ὑπὲρ² ὅσων καὶ ἡλίκων ἐστὶν ἡ σκέψις, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἀναθημάτων καὶ ἐθῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ θεσμῶν παλαιῶν καὶ δόξης τοῦ μαντείου, ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων τῷ τε κοινῷ ἡμῶν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ Δελφῶν, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τῆς παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εὐκλείας ἢ κακοδοξίας· τούτων γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τι μείζον, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε, ἢ ἀναγκαιότερον ἡγήσαισθε ἄν.

Περὶ ἱμὲν οὖν ὧν βουλευόμεθα, ταῦτά ἐστιν, οὐ Φάλαρις τύραννος εἰς οὐδ' ὁ ταῦρος οὗτος οὐδὲ χαλκὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ πάντες βασιλεῖς καὶ πάντες δυνάσται, ὅσοι νῦν χρώνται τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τίμια, πολλάκις ἀνατεθισόμενα τῷ θεῷ· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ κατὰ τὸν θεὸν ἐξετασθῆναι ἄξιον. τίνος οὖν ἕνεκα μὴ ὡς ἀεὶ μηδὲ ὡς πάλαι τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ποιήσωμεν; ἢ τί μεμφόμενοι τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔθεσιν καινοτομήσωμεν; καὶ δ' μηδὲ πρόποτε, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦμεν καὶ ὁ Πύθιος χρᾶ καὶ ὁ τρίπους φθέγγεται καὶ ἡ ἱέρεια ἐμπνεῖται, γενένηται παρ' ἡμῖν, νῦν καταστησώμεθα, κρίνεσθαι καὶ ἐξετάζεσθαι τοὺς ἀνατιθέντας; καὶ μὴν ἐξ

¹ βουλευέσθαι Reitz : βουλευέσθαι MSS.

² ὑπὲρ Sommerbrodt : πρῶτον ὑπὲρ MSS.

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here, to see where they come from and from whom, and what they are: we should receive them and dedicate them without officiousness, serving both parties, the god and the worshippers.

It seems to me, men of Delphi, that you will come to the best conclusion about the present case if you should consider the number and the magnitude of the issues involved in the question—first, the god, the temple, sacrifices, gifts, old customs, time-honoured observances and the credit of the oracle; then the whole city and the interests not only of our body but of every man in Delphi; and more than all, our good or bad name in the world. I have no doubt that if you are in your senses you will think nothing more important or more vital than these issues.

This is what we are in consultation about, then: it is not Phalaris (a single tyrant) or this bull of bronze only, but all kings and all monarchs who now frequent the temple, and gold and silver and all other things of price that will be given the god on many occasions. The first point to be investigated should be the interest of the god. Why should we not manage the matter of gifts as we have always done, as we did in the beginning? What fault have we to find with the good old customs, that we should make innovations, and that we should now set up a practice that has never existed among us since the city has been inhabited, since our god has given oracles, since the tripod has had a voice and since the priestess has been inspired—the practice of trying and cross-examining givers? In consequence

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ἐκείνου μὲν τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔθους, τοῦ ἀνέδην καὶ
 πᾶσιν ἐξεῖναι, ὁρᾶτε ὅσων ἀγαθῶν ἐμπέπλησται
 τὸ ἱερόν, ἀπάντων ἀνατιθέντων καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν
 ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν ἐνίων δωρουμένων τὸν θεόν.
 εἰ δ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς δοκιμαστὰς καὶ ἐξεταστὰς 13
 ἐπιστήσετε τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν, ὁκνῶ μὴ ἀπορή-
 σωμεν τῶν δοκιμασθησομένων ἔτι, οὐδενὸς ὑπο-
 μένοντος ὑπόδικον αὐτὸν καθιστάναι, καὶ ἀναλί-
 σκοντα καὶ καταδαπανῶντα παρ' αὐτοῦ κρίνεσθαι
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων κινδυνεύειν. ἢ τίνι βιωτόν, εἰ
 κριθήσεται τοῦ ἀνατιθέναι ἀνάξιος ;

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of that fine old custom of unrestricted access for all, you see how many good things fill the temple : all men give, and some are more generous to the god than their means warrant. But if you make yourselves examiners and inquisitors upon gifts, I doubt we shall be in want of people to examine hereafter, for nobody has the courage to put himself on the defensive, and to stand trial and risk everything as a result of spending his money lavishly. Who can endure life, if he is pronounced unworthy to make an oblation ?



HIPPIAS, OR THE BATH

“Description” (ecphrasis) was a favourite rhetorical exercise, though many frowned on it. In the “Rhetoric” attributed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (X, 17 Usener) it is called “an empty show and a waste of words.” It is the general opinion that this piece is not by Lucian.

ΙΠΠΙΑΣ Η ΒΑΛΑΝΕΙΟΝ

Τῶν σοφῶν ἐκείνους μάλιστα ἔγωγέ φημι δεῖν 1
ἐπαινεῖν, ὅπόσοι μὴ λόγους μόνον δεξιούς παρέ-
σχοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκάστων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἔργοις ὁμοίοις τὰς τῶν λόγων ὑποσχέσεις ἐπι-
στώσαντο. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἱατρῶν ὃ γε νοῦν ἔχων
οὐ τοὺς ἄριστα ὑπὲρ τῆς τέχνης εἰπεῖν δυναμένους
μεταστέλλεται νοσῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρᾶξαί τι κατ'
αὐτὴν μεμελετηκότας. ἀμείνων δὲ καὶ μουσικός,
οἶμαι, τοῦ διακρίνειν ῥυθμοὺς καὶ ἀρμονίας ἐπι-
σταμένου ὃ καὶ ψᾶλαι καὶ κιθαρίσαι αὐτὸς δυνά-
μενος. τί γὰρ ἂν σοι τῶν στρατηγῶν λέγοιμι
τοὺς εἰκότως ἀρίστους κριθέντας, ὅτι οὐ τάττειν
μόνον καὶ παραινεῖν ἦσαν ἀγαθοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ προ-
μάχεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ χειρὸς ἔργα ἐπιδείκνυ-
σθαι; οἷον πάλαι μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα,
τῶν κάτω δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Πύρρον ἴσμεν
γεγονότας.

Πρὸς δὴ τί ταῦτ' ἔφην; οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως 2
ἱστορίαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος ἐπεμνήσθην
αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν μηχανικῶν ἐκείνους
ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, ὅπόσοι ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ λαμπροὶ
γενόμενοι καὶ μνημόσυνα ὁμῶς τῆς τέχνης καὶ
παραδείγματα¹ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς κατέλιπον· ἐπεὶ
οἳ γε τοῖς λόγοις μόνοις ἐγγεγυμνασμένοι σοφισταὶ

¹ παραδείγματα Rothstein : πράγματα MSS.

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AMONG wise men, I maintain, the most praiseworthy are they who not only have spoken cleverly on their particular subjects, but have made their assertions good by doing things to match them. Take doctors, for instance : a man of sense, on falling ill, does not send for those who can talk about their profession best, but for those who have trained themselves to accomplish something in it. Likewise a musician who can himself play the lyre and the cithara is better, surely, than one who simply has a good ear for rhythm and harmony. And why need I tell you that the generals who have been rightly judged the best were good not only at marshalling their forces and addressing them, but at heading charges and at doughty deeds? Such, we know, were Agamemnon and Achilles of old, Alexander and Pyrrhus more recently.

Why have I said all this? It was not out of an ill-timed desire to air my knowledge of history that I brought it up, but because the same thing is true of engineers—we ought to admire those who, though famous for knowledge, have yet left to later generations reminders and proofs of their practical skill, for men trained in words alone would better be called

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ἀν εἰκότως μᾶλλον ἢ σοφοὶ καλοῦντο. τοιούτον ἀκούομεν τὸν Ἀρχιμήδη γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Κνίδιον Σώστρατον, τὸν μὲν Πτολεμαίῳ χειρωσάμενον τὴν Μέμφιν¹ ἀνευ πολιορκίας ἀποστροφῇ καὶ διαιρέσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὸν δὲ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων τριήρεις καταφλέξαντα τῇ τέχνῃ. καὶ Θαλῆς δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος πρὸ αὐτῶν ὑποσχόμενος Κροίσῳ ἄβροχον διαβιβάσειν τὸν στρατὸν ἐπινοία κατόπιν τοῦ στρατοπέδου μιᾷ νυκτὶ τὸν Ἄλυν περιήγαγεν, οὐ μηχανικὸς οὗτος γενόμενος, σοφὸς δὲ καὶ ἐπινοῆσαι καὶ συνεῖναι πιθανώτατος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἐπειοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαῖον, ὃς οὐ μόνον τεχνήσασθαι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὸν ἵππον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκαταβῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν λέγεται.

Ἐν δὴ τούτοις καὶ Ἰππίου τούτου τοῦ καθ' 3
ἡμᾶς μεμνήσθαι ἄξιον, ἀνδρὸς λόγοις μὲν παρ' ὄντινα βούλει τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγυμνασμένου καὶ συνεῖναι τε ὀξέος καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι σαφεστάτου, τὰ δὲ ἔργα πολλὰ τῶν λόγων ἀμείνω παρεχομένου καὶ τὴν τῆς τέχνης ὑπόσχεσιν ἀποπληροῦντος, οὐκ ἐν τοιαύταις μὲν ὑποθέσεσιν ἐν αἷς οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρῶτοι² γενέσθαι εὐτύχησαν, κατὰ δὲ τὸν γεωμετρικὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τῆς δοθείσης, φασίν, εὐθείας τὸ τρίγωνον ἀκριβῶς συνισταμένου. καίτοι τῶν γε ἄλλων ἕκαστος ἐν τι τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἔργον ἀποτεμόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῳ εὐδοκιμήσας εἶναι τις ὁμῶς ἔδοξεν, ὁ δὲ μηχανικῶν τε ὧν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ γεωμετρικῶν, ἔτι δὲ ἁρμονικῶν καὶ μουσικῶν φαίνεται, καὶ ὁμῶς ἕκαστον τούτων οὕτως ἐντελῶς

¹ Πτολεμαίῳ χειρωσάμενον τὴν Μέμφιν. Palmer: Πτολεμαῖον χειρωσάμενον καὶ τὴν Μέμφιν MSS. "took Ptolemy and Memphis."
² πρῶτοι E. Capps: not in MSS.

HIPPIAS, OR THE BATH

wiseacres than wise. Such an engineer we are told, was Archimedes, and also Sostratus of Cnidus. The latter took Memphis for Ptolemy without a siege by turning the river aside and dividing it; the former burned the ships of the enemy by means of his science. And before their time Thales of Miletus, who had promised Croesus to set his army across the Halys dryshod, thanks to his ingenuity brought the river round behind the camp in a single night. Yet he was not an engineer: he was wise, however, and very able at devising plans and grasping problems. As for the case of Epeius, it is prehistoric: he is said not only to have made the wooden horse for the Achaeans but to have gone into it along with them.

Among these men Hippias, our own contemporary, deserves mention. Not only is he trained as highly in the art of speech as any of his predecessors, and alike quick of comprehension and clear in exposition, but he is better at action than speech, and fulfils his professional promises, not merely doing so in those matters in which his predecessors succeeded in getting to the fore, but, as the geometricians put it, knowing how to construct a triangle accurately on a given base.¹ Moreover, whereas each of the others marked off some one department of science and sought fame in it, making a name for himself in spite of this delimitation, he, on the contrary, is clearly a leader in harmony and music as well as in engineering and geometry, and yet he shows as

¹ In other words, he has originality.

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δείκνυσιν ὡς ἐν αὐτὸ μόνον ἐπιστάμενος. τὴν μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἀκτίνων καὶ ἀνακλάσεων καὶ κατόπτρων θεωρίαν, ἔτι δὲ ἀστρονομίαν, ἐν ἧ παιδᾶς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπέφηνεν, οὐκ ὀλίγου χρόνου ἂν εἴη ἐπαινεῖν. ἃ δὲ ἑναγχος ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔργων 4 κατεπλάγην, οὐκ ὀκνήσω εἰπεῖν· κοινὴ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ὑπόθεσις κὰν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίῳ πάνυ πολλή, βαλανείου κατασκευή· ἡ¹ περίνοια δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τούτῳ σύνεσις θαυμαστή.

Τόπος μὲν ἦν οὐκ ἐπίπεδος, ἀλλὰ πάνυ προ-
σάντης καὶ ὀρθιος, ὃν παραλαβὼν κατὰ θάτερα εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ταπεινόν, ἰσόπεδον θάτερον² θατέρῳ ἀπέφηνεν, κρηπίδα μὲν βεβαιοτάτην ἅπαντι τῷ ἔργῳ· βαλλόμενος καὶ θεμελίῳ θέσει τὴν τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων ἀσφάλειαν ἐμπεδωσάμενος, ὕψει³ δὲ πάνυ ἀποτόμοις καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν συνεχομένοις τὸ ὅλον κρατυνάμενος· τὰ δὲ ἐποικοδομηθέντα τῷ τε τοῦ τόπου μεγέθει σύμμετρα καὶ τῷ εὐλόγῳ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀρμοδιώτατα καὶ τὸν τῶν φώτων λόγον φυλάττοντα. πυλῶν μὲν ὑψηλὸς ἀναβά- 5 σεις πλατείας ἔχων, ὑπτίας μᾶλλον ἢ ὀρθίας⁴ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνιόντων εὐμάρειαν· εἰσιόντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐκδέχεται κοινὸς οἶκος εὐμεγέθης, ἱκανὴν ἔχων ὑπηρέταις καὶ ἀκολουθοῖς διατριβήν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὰ ἐς τρυφὴν παρεσκευασμένα οἰκήματα,⁵ βαλανείῳ δ' οὖν καὶ ταῦτα πρεπωδέστατα, χαρί-
εσαι καὶ φωτὶ πολλῷ καταλαμπόμεναι ὑποχωρή-

¹ ἡ E. Schwartz : not in MSS.

² θάτερον E. Schwartz : not in MSS.

³ ὕψει MSS. : ἄψει Pellet and du Soul.

⁴ ὑπτίας, ὀρθίας E. Schwartz : ὅπιος, ὀρθιος MSS.

⁵ τὰ παρσκευασμένα οἰκήματα Guyet : τῶν παρσκευασμένων οἰκημάτων MSS. : τῶν παρσκευασμένων οἰκήματα Schwartz.

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great perfection in each of these fields as if he knew nothing else. It would take no little time to sing his praises in the doctrine of rays and refraction and mirrors, or in astronomy, in which he made his predecessors appear children, but I shall not hesitate to speak of one of his achievements which I recently looked upon with wonder. Though the undertaking is a commonplace, and in our days a very frequent one, the construction of a bath, yet his thoughtfulness and intelligence even in this commonplace matter is marvellous.

The site was not flat, but quite sloping and steep; it was extremely low on one side when he took it in hand, but he made it level, not only constructing a firm basis for the entire work and laying foundations to ensure the safety of the superstructure, but strengthening the whole with buttresses, very sheer and, for security's sake, close together. The building suits the magnitude of the site, accords well with the accepted idea of such an establishment, and shows regard for the principles of lighting.

The entrance is high, with a flight of broad steps of which the tread is greater than the pitch, to make them easy to ascend. On entering, one is received into a public hall of good size, with ample accommodations for servants and attendants. On the left are the lounging-rooms, also of just the right sort for a bath, attractive, brightly lighted

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σεις. εἴτ' ἐχόμενος αὐτῶν οἶκος, περιττὸς μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν, ἀναγκαῖος δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὴν τῶν εὐδαιμονεστέρων ὑποδοχὴν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐκατέρωθεν διαρκεῖς τοῖς ἀποδυομένοις ἀποθέσεις, καὶ μέσος οἶκος ὕψει τε ὑψηλότετος καὶ φωτὶ φαιδρότατος, ψυχροῦ ὕδατος ἔχων τρεῖς κολυμβήθρας, Λακαῖνῃ λίθῳ κεκοσμημένος, καὶ εἰκόνες ἐν αὐτῷ λίθου λευκοῦ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐργασίας, ἡ μὲν Ὑγιείας, ἡ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

Ἐξελθόντας δὲ ὑποδέχεται ἡρέμα χλια- 6
νόμενος οἶκος οὐκ ἀπηνεῖ τῇ θέρμῃ προαπαντῶν, ἐπιμήκης, ἀμφιστρόγγυλος, μεθ' ὃν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἶκος εὖ μάλα φαιδρός, ἀλείψασθαι προσηνῶς παρεχόμενος, ἐκατέρωθεν εἰσόδους ἔχων Φρυγίῳ λίθῳ κεκαλλωπισμένας, τοὺς ἀπὸ παλαίστρας εἰσιόντας δεχόμενος. εἴτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἄλλος οἶκος οἴκων ἀπάντων κάλλιστος, στήναί τε καὶ ἐγκαθίζεσθαι προσηνέστατος καὶ ἐμβραδύναι ἀβλαβέστατος καὶ ἐγκυλίσασθαι ὠφελιμώτατος, Φρυγίου καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ὀροφὴν ἄκραν ἀποστίλβων. ἐξῆς δὲ ὁ θερμὸς ὑποδέχεται διάδρομος Νομάδι λίθῳ διακεκολλημένος. ὁ δὲ ἔνδον οἶκος κάλλιστος, φωτὸς τε πολλοῦ ἀνάμεστος καὶ ὡς πορφύρα διηνησμένος. τρεῖς καὶ οὗτος θερμὰς πνέλους παρέχεται.

Λουσαμένῳ δὲ ἔνεστί σοι μὴ τὴν διὰ 7
τῶν αὐτῶν οἴκων αὐθις ἐπανιέναι, ἀλλὰ ταχείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν δι' ἡρέμα θερμοῦ οἰκήματος, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ὑπὸ φωτὶ μεγάλῳ καὶ πολλῇ τῇ ἔνδον ἡμέρᾳ. ὕψη πρὸς τούτους

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retreats. Then, beside them, a hall, larger than need be for the purposes of a bath, but necessary for the reception of the rich. Next, capacious locker-rooms to undress in, on each side, with a very high and brilliantly lighted hall between them, in which are three swimming-pools of cold water; it is finished in Laconian marble, and has two statues of white marble in the ancient technique, one of Hygieia, the other of Aesculapius.

On leaving this hall, you come into another which is slightly warmed instead of meeting you at once with fierce heat; it is oblong, and has an apse at each side. Next it, on the right, is a very bright hall, nicely fitted up for massage, which has on each side an entrance decorated with Phrygian marble, and receives those who come in from the exercising-floor. Then near this is another hall, the most beautiful in the world, in which one can sit or stand with comfort, linger without danger and stroll about with profit. It also is refulgent with Phrygian marble clear to the roof. Next comes the hot corridor, faced with Numidian marble. The hall beyond it is very beautiful, full of abundant light and aglow with colour like that of purple hangings.¹ It contains three hot tubs.

When you have bathed, you need not go back through the same rooms, but can go directly to the cold room through a slightly warmed apartment. Everywhere there is copious illumination and full indoor daylight. Furthermore, the height of each

¹ The writer does not mean that the room was hung with purple, but that the stone with which it was decorated was purple: perhaps only that it had columns of porphyry.

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ἀνάλογα καὶ πλάτῃ τοῖς μήκεσι σύμμετρα καὶ πανταχοῦ πολλὴ χάρις καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐπανθεῖ· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν καλὸν Πίνδαρον, ἀρχομένου ἔργου πρόσωπον χρῆ θέμεν τηλαυγές. τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴῃ ἐκ τῆς αὐγῆς μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ φέγγους καὶ τῶν φωταγωγῶν μεμηχανημένον. ὁ γὰρ σοφὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς Ἰππίας τὸν μὲν ψυχροδόχον οἶκον εἰς βορρᾶν προσκεχωρηκότα ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἄμοιρον οὐδὲ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ αἴερος· τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺ τοῦ θάλπους δεομένους νότῳ καὶ εὐρῷ καὶ ζεφύρῳ ὑπέθηκε. τί δ' ἂν σοι τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγοιμι 8 παλαιίστρας καὶ τὰς κοινὰς τῶν ἱματιοφυλακούντων κατασκευὰς ταχεῖαν¹ ἐπὶ τὸ λουτρὸν καὶ μὴ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐχούσας τοῦ χρησίμου τε καὶ ἀβλαβοῦς ἕνεκα;

Καὶ μή με ὑπολάβῃ τις μικρὸν ἔργον προθέμενον κοσμεῖν τῷ λόγῳ προαιρεῖσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καινὰ ἐπινοῆσαι κάλλους δείγματα, οὐ μικρὰς σοφίας ἔγωγε τίθεμαι, οἶον καὶ τότε τὸ ἔργον ὁ θαυμάσιος ἡμῖν Ἰππίας ἐπεδείξατο πάσας ἔχον τὰς βαλανείου ἀρετάς, τὸ χρήσιμον, τὸ εὐκαιρον, τὸ εὐφεγγές, τὸ σύμμετρον, τὸ τῷ τόπῳ ἥρμοσμένον, τὸ τὴν χρεῖαν ἀσφαλῆ παρεχόμενον, καὶ προσέτι τῇ ἄλλῃ περινοίᾳ κεκοσμημένον, ἀφόδων μὲν ἀναγκαίων δυσὶν ἀναχωρήσεσιν, ἐξόδοις δὲ πολλαῖς τεθυρωμένον, ὥρων δὲ διττὰς δηλώσεις, τὴν μὲν δι' ὕδατος καὶ μυκῆματος, τὴν δὲ δι' ἡλίου ἐπιδεικνύμενον.

Ταῦτα ἰδόντα μὴ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν πρέποντα ἔπαινον τῷ ἔργῳ οὐκ ἀνοήτου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ

¹ ταχεῖαν Schwartz: ταχεῖαν τὴν MSS.

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room is just, and the breadth proportionate to the length ; and everywhere great beauty and loveliness prevail, for in the words of noble Pindar,¹ "Your work should have a glorious countenance." This is probably due in the main to the light, the brightness and the windows. Hippias, being truly wise, built the room for cold baths to northward, though it does not lack a southern exposure ; whereas he faced south, east, and west the rooms that require abundant heat. Why should I go on and tell you of the exercising-floors and of the cloak-rooms, which have quick and direct communication with the hall containing the basin, so as to be convenient and to do away with all risk ?

Let no one suppose that I have taken an insignificant achievement as my theme, and purpose to ennoble it by my eloquence. It requires more than a little wisdom, in my opinion, to invent new manifestations of beauty in commonplace things, as did our marvellous Hippias in producing this work. It has all the good points of a bath—usefulness, convenience, light, good proportions, fitness to its site, and the fact that it can be used without risk. Moreover, it is beautified with all other marks of thoughtfulness—with two toilets, many exits, and two devices for telling time, a water-clock that bellows like a bull, and a sundial.

For a man who has seen all this not to render the work its meed of praise is not only foolish but

¹ *Olymp.* 6, 3. Pindar's ἀρχομένου (*the beginning of your work*) is out of place in this context.

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ἀχαρίστου, μᾶλλον δὲ βασκάνου μοι εἶναι ἔδοξεν.
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν εἰς δύναμιν καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὸν
τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν ἡμειψάμην τῷ λόγῳ. εἰ
δὲ θεὸς παράσχοι καὶ λούσασθαί ποτε, πολλοὺς
οἶδα ἔξων τοὺς κοινωνήσοντάς μοι τῶν ἐπαίνων.

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ungrateful, even malignant, it seems to me. I for my part have done what I could to do justice both to the work and to the man who planned and built it. If Heaven ever grants you the privilege of bathing there, I know that I shall have many who will join me in my words of praise.



DIONYSUS

AN INTRODUCTION

In Lucian's time it became the custom to introduce a formal piece of rhetorical fireworks with an informal talk, usually more or less personal. See A. Stock, *de prolaliarum usu rhetorico*, Königsberg, 1911. It is the general belief that the 'Dionysus' introduced Book ii. of the 'True Story.'

ΠΡΟΛΑΛΙΑ. ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΣ

“Οτε ὁ Διόνυσος ἐπ’ Ἰνδούς στρατιὰν ἤλασε 1
 —κωλύει γὰρ οὐδέν, οἶμαι, καὶ μῦθον ὑμῖν
 διηγῆσασθαι Βακχικόν—φασὶν οὕτω καταφρονῆ-
 σαι αὐτοῦ τὰ πρῶτα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ,
 ὥστε καταγελᾶν ἐπιόντος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐλεεῖν τὴν
 τόλμαν αὐτίκα μάλα συμπατηθησομένου ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἐλεφάντων, εἰ ἀντιτάξαιτο.¹ ἤκουον γάρ, οἶμαι, τῶν
 σκοπῶν ἀλλόκοτα ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ
 ἀγγελλόντων, ὡς ἡ μὲν φάλαγξ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λόχοι
 γυναῖκες εἶεν ἔκφρονες καὶ μεμηνυῖαι, κιττῷ
 ἐστεμμέναι, νεβρίδας ἐνημμέναι, δοράτια μικρὰ
 ἔχουσαι ἀσίδηρα, κιττοποίητα καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τινα
 πελτάρια κοῦφα, βομβοῦντα, εἴ τις μόνον προσά-
 ψαιτο—ἀσπίσι γὰρ εἵκαζον, οἶμαι,² τὰ τύμπανα—
 ὀλίγους δὲ τινας ἀγροίκους νεανίσκους ἐνεῖναι, γυμ-
 νούς, κόρδακα ὀρχουμένους, οὐρὰς ἔχοντας, κεράσ-
 τας, οἷα τοῖς ἄρτι γεννηθεῖσιν ἐρίφοις ὑποφύεται.
 καὶ τὸν μὲν στρατηλάτην αὐτὸν ἐφ’ ἄρματος ὀχεῖ 2
 σθαι παρδάλεω ὑπεξευγμένων, ἀγένειον ἀκριβῶς,
 οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ὀλίγον τὴν παρειὰν χνοῶντα, κερασφόρον,
 βοτρυόις ἐστεφανωμένον, μίτρα τὴν κόμην ἀνα-

¹ ἀντιτάξαιτο MSS. : ἀντιτάξοιτο Cobet.

² οἶμαι Rothstein : καὶ MSS.

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AN INTRODUCTION

WHEN Dionysus led his host against the men of Ind (surely there is nothing to prevent my telling you a tale of Bacchus!), he was held at first in such contempt, they say, by the people there, that they laughed at his advance; more than that, they pitied him for his hardihood, because he was certain to be trampled under foot in an instant by the elephants if he deployed against them. No doubt they heard curious reports about his army from their scouts: "His rank and file are crack-brained, crazy women, wreathed with ivy, dressed in fawn-skins, carrying little headless spears which are of ivy too, and light targes that boom if you do but touch them"—for they supposed, no doubt, that the tambours were shields. "A few young clodhoppers are with them, dancing the can-can without any clothes on; they have tails, and have horns like those which start from the foreheads of new-born kids. As for the general himself, he rides on a car behind a team of panthers; he is quite beardless, without even the least bit of down on his cheek, has horns, wears a garland of grape clusters, ties up his hair with

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δεδεμένον, ἐν πορφυρίδι καὶ χρυσῇ ἐμβάδι· ὑποστρατηγεῖν δὲ δύο, ἓνα μὲν τινα βραχύν, πρεσβύτην, ὑπόπαχυν, προγάστορα, ῥινόσιμον, ὧτα μεγάλα ὀρθία ἔχοντα, ὑπότρομον, νάρθηκι ἐπερειδόμενον, ἐπ' ὄνου τὰ πολλὰ ἱππεύοντα, ἐν κροκωτῷ καὶ τοῦτον, πάνυ πιθανόν τινα συνταγματάρχην αὐτοῦ· ἕτερον δὲ τεράστιον ἄνθρωπον, τράγῳ τὰ νέρθεν ἐοικότα, κομήτην τὰ σκέλη, κέρατα ἔχοντα, βαθυπώγωνα, ὀργίλον καὶ θυμικόν, θατέρα μὲν σύριγγα φέροντα, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ ῥάβδον καμπύλην ἐπηρμένον καὶ περισκιρτῶντα ὅλον τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὰ γυναῖα δὲ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ σείειν ἡνεμωμένας τὰς κόμας, ὅποτε προσίοι, καὶ βοᾶν εὐοῖ· τοῦτο δ' εἰκάζειν καλεῖσθαι αὐτῶν τὸν δεσπότην. τὰς δ' οὖν ποίμνας διηρπάσθαι ἤδη ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ διεσπᾶσθαι ἔτι ζῶντα τὰ θρέμματα· ὠμοφύγους γάρ τινας αὐτὰς εἶναι.

Ταῦτα οἱ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἀκού- 3
οντες ἐγέλων, ὥς τὸ εἶκός, καὶ οὐδ' ἀντεπεξάγειν ἢ παρατάττεσθαι ἠξίου, ἀλλ' εἵπερ ἄρα, τὰς γυναικας ἐπαφήσειν αὐτοῖς, εἰ πλησίον γένοιντο, σφίσι δὲ καὶ νικᾶν αἰσχροὺς ἐδόκει καὶ φονεύειν γυναῖα μεμνηνότες καὶ θηλυμίτρην ἄρχοντα καὶ μεθύον σμικρὸν γερόντιον καὶ ἡμίτραγον στρατιώτην ἄλλον¹ καὶ γυμνήτας ὀρχηστάς, πάντας² γελοίους. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡγγελτο πυρπολῶν ὁ θεὸς ἤδη τὴν χώραν καὶ πόλεις αὐτάνδρους καταφλέγων καὶ ἀνάπτων τὰς ὕλας καὶ ἐν βραχεὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν φλογὸς ἐμπεπληκῶς—ὄπλον γάρ τι

¹ ἡμίτραγον στρατιώτην ἄλλον Harmon : ἡμιστρατιώτην ἄλλον MSS. : ἡμίτραγον ἄλλον Hartmann : ἡμισυν τραγοειδῇ ἄνθρωπον Schwartz.

² πάντας MSS. : πάντα Schwartz.

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a ribbon, and is in a purple gown and gilt slippers. He has two lieutenants. One¹ is a short, thick-set old man with a big belly, a flat nose and large, up-standing ears, who is a bit shaky and walks with a staff (though for the most part he rides on an ass), and is also in a woman's gown, which is yellow; he is a very appropriate aide to such a chief! The other² is a misbegotten fellow like a goat in the underpinning, with hairy legs, horns, and a long beard; he is choleric and hot-headed, carries a shepherd's pipe in his left hand and brandishes a crooked stick in his right, and goes bounding all about the army. The women are afraid of him; they toss their hair in the wind when he comes near and cry out 'Evoe.' This we suppose to be the name of their ruler. The flocks have already been harried by the women, and the animals torn limb from limb while still alive; for they are eaters of raw meat."

On hearing this, the Hindoos and their king roared with laughter, as well they might, and did not care to take the field against them or to deploy their troops; at most, they said, they would turn their women loose on them if they came near. They themselves thought it a shame to defeat them and kill crazy women, a hair-ribboned leader, a drunken little old man, a goat-soldier and a lot of naked dancers—ridiculous, every one of them! But word soon came that the god was setting the country in a blaze, burning up cities and their inhabitants and firing the forests, and that he had speedily filled all India with

¹ Silenus.

² Pan.

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Διονυσιακὸν τὸ πῦρ, πατρῶον αὐτῷ κακ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ—ἐνταῦθα ἤδη σπουδῇ ἀνελάμβανον τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπισάξαντες καὶ ἐγχαλινώσαντες καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναθέμενοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀντεπεξήεσαν, καταφρονούντες μὲν καὶ τότε, ὀργιζόμενοι δὲ ὅμως καὶ συντρίψαι σπεύδοντες αὐτῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν ἀγένειον ἐκείνον στρατηλάτην. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν Ἴνδοι προτάξαντες τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπήγον τὴν φάλαγγα, ὁ Διόνυσος δὲ τὸ μέσον μὲν αὐτὸς εἶχε, τοῦ κέρως δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μὲν ὁ Σιληνός, τοῦ εὐωνύμου δὲ ὁ Πὰν ἡγούντο· λοχαγοὶ δὲ καὶ ταξίαρχοι οἱ Σάτυροι ἐγκαθειστήκεσαν· καὶ τὸ μὲν σύνθημα ἦν ἅπασιν τὸ εὐοῖ. εὐθύς δὲ τὰ τύμπανα ἐπαταγεῖτο καὶ τὰ κύμβαλα τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσήμαινε καὶ τῶν Σατύρων τις λαβὼν τὸ κέρας ἐπηύλει τὸ ὄρθιον καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ ὄνος ἐνυάλιον τι ὠγκήσατο καὶ αἱ Μαινάδες σὺν ὀλολυγῇ ἐνεπήδησαν αὐτοῖς δράκοντας ὑπεξωσμέναι κακ τῶν θύρσων ἄκρων ἀπογυμνοῦσαι τὸν σίδηρον. οἱ Ἴνδοι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες αὐτῶν αὐτίκα ἐγκλίναντες σὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔφευγον οὐδ' ἐντὸς βέλους γενέσθαι ὑπομείναντες, καὶ τέλος κατὰ κράτος ἐαλώκεσαν καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι ἀπήγοντο ὑπὸ τῶν τέως καταγελωμένων, ἔργῳ μαθόντες ὡς οὐκ ἐχρῆν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀκοῆς καταφρονεῖν ξένων στρατοπέδων. 4

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flame. (Naturally, the weapon of Dionysus is fire, because it is his father's and comes from the thunderbolt.¹) Then at last they hurriedly took arms, saddled and bridled their elephants and put the towers on them, and sallied out against the enemy. Even then they despised them, but were angry at them all the same, and eager to crush the life out of the beardless general and his army. When the forces came together and saw one another, the Hindoos posted their elephants in the van and moved forward in close array. Dionysus had the centre in person; Silenus commanded on the right wing and Pan on the left. The Satyrs were commissioned as colonels and captains, and the general watchword was 'Evoc.' In a trice the tambours were beat, the cymbals gave the signal for battle, one of the Satyrs took his horn and sounded the charge, Silenus' jackass gave a martial hee-haw, and the Maenads, serpent-girdled, baring the steel of their thyrsus-points, fell on with a shriek. The Hindoos and their elephants gave way at once and fled in utter disorder, not even daring to get within range. The outcome was that they were captured by force of arms and led off prisoners by those whom they had formerly laughed at, taught by experience that strange armies should not have been despised on hearsay.

¹ Zeus, the father of Dionysus, revealed himself to Semele, his mother, in all his glory, at her own request. Killed by his thunderbolt, she gave untimely birth to Dionysus, whom Zeus stitched into his own thigh and in due time brought into the world.

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Ἄλλὰ τί πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ὁ Διόνυσος 5
οὗτος; εἴποι τις ἄν. ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσι—καὶ πρὸς
Χαρίτων μὴ με κορυβαντιᾶν ἢ τελέως μεθύειν
ὑπολάβητε, εἰ τὰμὰ εἰκάζω τοῖς θεοῖς—ὅμοιόν τι
πάσχειν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς καινοὺς τῶν λόγων
τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς ἐκείνοις, οἷον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμούς·
οἴομενοι γὰρ σατυρικά καὶ γελοῖά τινα καὶ κομιδῇ
κωμικὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκούσεσθαι—τοιαῦτα γὰρ¹ πε-
πιστεύκασιν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ
—οἱ μὲν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφικνουῦνται, ὥς οὐδὲν
δέον παρέχειν τὰ ὦτα κώμοις γυναικείοις καὶ σκιρ-
τήμασι σατυρικοῖς καταβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλεφάν-
των, οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπὶ τοιοῦτό τι ἤκοντες ἀντὶ τοῦ
κιττοῦ σίδηρον εὐρόντες οὐδ' οὕτως ἐπαινεῖν
τολμῶσι τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος τεθορυ-
βημένοι. ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν ἐπαγγέλλομαι αὐτοῖς,
ὅτι ἦν καὶ νῦν ὥς πρότερόν ποτε τὴν τελετὴν
ἐθελήσωσιν ἐπιδεῖν πολλάκις καὶ ἀναμνησθῶσιν
οἱ παλαιοὶ συμπόται κώμων κοινῶν τῶν τότε
καιρῶν καὶ μὴ καταφρονήσωσιν τῶν Σατύρων
καὶ Σιληνῶν, πίωσι δὲ ἐς κόρον τοῦ κρατήρος
τούτου, ἔτι βακχεύσειν² καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλάκις
μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐρεῖν τὸ εὖοι. οὔτοι μὲν οὖν—ἐλεύθερον 6
γὰρ ἀκοή—ποιούντων ὅ τι καὶ φίλον.

Ἐγὼ δέ, ἐπειδήπερ ἔτι ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐσμέν, ἐθέλω
καὶ ἄλλο ὑμῖν διηγῆσασθαί τι τῶν ἐκεῖθεν, οὐκ

¹ γὰρ (in two late MSS. only) A. M. H., making τοιαῦτα
. . . ἐμοῦ parenthetical.

² ἔτι βακχεύσειν Schwartz : ἐμβακχεύσειν (or ἐκβ.) MSS.

DIONYSUS

"But what has your Dionysus to do with Dionysus?" someone may say.¹ This much: that in my opinion (and in the name of the Graces don't suppose me in a corybantic frenzy or downright drunk if I compare myself to the gods!) most people are in the same state of mind as the Hindoos when they encounter literary novelties, like mine for example. Thinking that what they hear from me will smack of Satyrs and of jokes, in short, of comedy—for that is the conviction they have formed, holding I know not what opinion of me—some of them do not come at all, believing it unseemly to come off their elephants and give their attention to the revels of women and the skippings of Satyrs, while others apparently come for something of that kind, and when they find steel instead of ivy, are even then slow to applaud, confused by the unexpectedness of the thing. But I promise confidently that if they are willing this time as they were before to look often upon the mystic rites, and if my boon-companions of old remember "the revels we shared in the days that are gone"² and do not despise my Satyrs and Sileni, but drink their fill of this bowl, they too will know the Bacchic frenzy once again, and will often join me in the "Evoe." But let them do as they think fit: a man's ears are his own!

As we are still in India, I want to tell you another tale of that country which "has to do with Dionysus,"

¹ οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον· ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις λεγόντων. Explained by Zenobius as said in the theatre, when poets began to write about Ajax and the Centaurs and other things not in the Dionysiac legend. See *Paroemiographi Graeci* i. p. 137.

² The source of the anapaest κῶμων κοινῶν τῶν τότε καιρῶν is unknown.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀπροσδιόνυσον οὐδ' αὐτό, οὐδ' ὦν ποιούμεν ἀλλότριον. ἐν Ἰνδοῖς τοῖς Μαχλαίοις, οἱ τὰ λαιὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, εἰ κατὰ ῥοὴν αὐτοῦ βλέποισ, ἐπινεμόμενοι μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ὀκεανὸν καθήκουσι, παρὰ τούτοις ἄλσος ἐστὶν ἐν περιφράκτῳ, οὐ πάνυ μεγάλῳ χωρίῳ, συνηρεφεῖ δέ· κιττὸς γὰρ πολὺς καὶ ἄμπελοι σύσκιον αὐτὸ ἀκριβῶς ποιοῦσιν. ἐνταῦθα πηγαί εἰσι τρεῖς καλλίστου καὶ διειδεστάτου ὕδατος, ἡ μὲν Σατύρων,¹ ἡ δὲ Πανός, ἡ δὲ Σιληνοῦ. καὶ εἰσέρχονται εἰς αὐτὸ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ἐορτάζοντες τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πίνουσι τῶν πηγῶν, οὐχ ἀπασῶν ἅπαντες, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡλικίαν, τὰ μὲν μειράκια τῆς τῶν Σατύρων, οἱ ἄνδρες δὲ τῆς Πανικῆς, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ οἱ κατ' ἐμέ.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν πάσχουσιν οἱ παῖδες ἐπειδὰν 7
πίωσιν, ἢ οἷα οἱ ἄνδρες τολμῶσι κατεχόμενοι
τῷ Πανί, μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν· ἃ δ' οἱ γέροντες
ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν μεθυσθῶσιν τοῦ ὕδατος, οὐκ
ἀλλότριον εἰπεῖν· ἐπειδὰν πίῃ ὁ γέρων καὶ
κατάσχη αὐτὸν ὁ Σιληνός, αὐτίκα ἐπὶ πολὺ
ἄφωνός ἐστι καὶ κερηβαροῦντι καὶ βεβαπτισμένῳ
ἔοικεν, εἶτα ἄφνω φωνή τε λαμπρὰ καὶ φθέγμα
τορὸν καὶ πνεῦμα λιγυρὸν ἐγγίγνεται αὐτῷ καὶ
λαλίστατος ἐξ ἀφωνοτάτου ἐστίν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐπι-
στομίσας παύσειας αὐτὸν μὴ οὐχὶ συνεχῇ λαλεῖν
καὶ ῥήσεις μακρὰς συνείρειν. συνετὰ μέντοι
πάντα καὶ κόσμια καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ὀμήρου ἐκείνον
ῥήτορα· νιφάδεσσι γὰρ ἐοικότα χειμερίησι διεξέρ-
χονται, οὐδ' ἀποχρήσει σοι κύκνοις κατὰ τὴν

¹ Σατύρων E. Capps : Σατύρου MSS.

DIONYSUS

like the first, and is not irrelevant to our business. Among the Machlaean Indians who feed their flocks on the left banks of the Indus river as you look down stream, and who reach clear to the Ocean—in their country there is a grove in an enclosed place of no great size; it is completely sheltered, however, for rank ivy and grapevines overshadow it quite. In it there are three springs of fair, clear water: one belongs to the Satyrs, another to Pan, the third to Silenus. The Indians visit the place once a year, celebrating the feast of the god, and they drink from the springs: not, however, from all of them, indiscriminately, but according to age. The boys drink from the spring of the Satyrs, the men from the spring of Pan, and those of my time of life from the spring of Silenus.

What happens to the boys when they drink, and what the men make bold to do under the influence of Pan would make a long story; but what the old do when they get drunk on the water is not irrelevant. When an old man drinks and falls under the influence of Silenus, at first he is mute for a long time and appears drugged and sodden. Then of a sudden he acquires a splendid flow of language, a distinct utterance, a silvery voice, and is as talkative as he was mute before. Even by gagging him you couldn't keep him from talking steadily and delivering long harangues. It is all sensible though, and well ordered, and in the style of Homer's famous orator;¹ for their words fall "like the snows of winter." You can't compare them to swans on

¹ *Odysseus*: *Il.* 3. 222, where he and Menelaus are compared.

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ἡλικίαν εἰκάσαι αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ τεττιγῶδές τι πυκνὸν καὶ ἐπίτροχον συνάπτουσιν ἄχρι βαθείας ἐσπέρας. τούντεῦθεν δὲ ἤδη ἀφεθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς μέθης σιωπῶσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀνατρέχουσι. τὸ μέντοι παραδοξότατον οὐδέπω εἶπον· ἦν γὰρ ἀτελῇ ὁ γέρων μεταξὺ καταλίπη ὃν διεξήκει τὸν λόγον, δύντος ἡλίου κωλυθεὶς ἐπὶ πέρας αὐτὸν ἐπεξελθεῖν, ἐς νέωτα πίων αὐθις ἐκεῖνα συνάπτει ἃ πέρυσιν λέγοντα ἢ μέθη αὐτὸν κατέλιπεν.

Ταῦτά μοι κατὰ τὸν Μῶμον εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἀπε- 8
σκώφθω, καὶ μὰ τὸν Δῖ οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἐπαγάγοιμι τὸ ἐπιμύθιον· ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ἤδη καθ' ὃ τι τῷ μύθῳ ἔοικα. ὥστε ἦν μέν τι παραπαίωμεν, ἢ μέθη αἰτία· εἰ δὲ πινυτὰ δόξειε τὰ λεγόμενα, ὁ Σίληνός ἄρα ἦν ἱλεως.

14 Υ 16

DIONYSUS

account of their age ; but like cicadas, they keep up a constant roundelay till the afternoon is far spent. Then, when the fumes of the drink leave them at last, they fall silent and relapse into their old ways. But I have not yet told you the strangest part of it. If an old man is prevented by sunset from reaching the end of the story which he is telling, and leaves it unfinished, when he drinks again another season he takes up what he was saying the year before when the fumes left him !

Permit me this joke at my own expense, in the spirit of Momus. I refuse to draw the moral, I swear ; for you already see how the fable applies to me. If I make any slip, then, the fumes are to blame, but if what I say should seem reasonable, then Silenus has been good to me.



HERACLES
AN INTRODUCTION

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ. ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

Τὸν Ἡρακλέα οἱ Κελτοὶ Ὀγμιον ὀνομάζουσι 1
 φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ, τὸ δὲ εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ πάνν
 ἀλλόκοτον γράφουσι. γέρων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ
 ἔσχατον, ἀναφаланτίας, πολὺς ἀκριβῶς ὅσαι
 λοιπαὶ τῶν τριχῶν, ῥυσὸς τὸ δέρμα καὶ διακεκαυ-
 μένος ἐς τὸ μελάντατον οἰοί εἰσιν οἱ θαλαττουργοὶ
 γέροντες· μᾶλλον δὲ Χάρωνα ἢ Ἰαπετόν τινα τῶν
 ὑποταρταρίων καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ Ἡρακλέα
 εἶναι ἂν εἰκάσειας. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῦτος ὢν ἔχει
 ὁμῶς τὴν σκευὴν τὴν Ἡρακλέους· καὶ γὰρ τὴν
 διφθέραν ἐνήπτει τὴν τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τὸ ῥόπαλον
 ἔχει ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ τὸν γωρυτὸν παρήρτηται, καὶ
 τὸ τόξον ἐντεταμένον ἢ ἀριστερὰ προδείκνυσιν,
 καὶ ὅλος Ἡρακλῆς ἐστὶ ταῦτά γε. ὦμην οὖν ἐφ' 2
 ὕβρει τῶν Ἑλληνίων¹ θεῶν τοιαῦτα παρανομεῖν
 τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐς τὴν μορφήν τὴν Ἡρακλέους
 ἀμυνομένους αὐτὸν τῇ γραφῇ, ὅτι τὴν χώραν ποτὲ
 αὐτῶν ἐπήλθεν λείαν ἐλαύνων, ὅποτε τὰς Γηρυόνου
 ἀγέλας ζητῶν κατέδραμε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐσπερίων
 γενῶν. καίτοι τὸ παραδοξότατον οὐδέπω ἔφην 3

¹ Ἑλληνίων MSS., Herwerden : Ἑλλήνων Schwartz : Ἑλ-
 ληνικῶν vulg.

HERACLES

AN INTRODUCTION

THE Celts call Heracles Ogmios in their native tongue, and they portray the god in a very peculiar way. To their notion, he is extremely old, bald-headed, except for a few lingering hairs which are quite gray, his skin is wrinkled, and he is burned as black as can be, like an old sea-dog. You would think him a Charon or a sub-Tartarean Iapetus¹—anything but Heracles! Yet, in spite of his looks, he has the equipment of Heracles: he is dressed in the lion's skin, has the club in his right hand, carries the quiver at his side, displays the bent bow in his left, and is Heracles from head to heel as far as that goes. I thought, therefore, that the Celts had committed this offence against the good-looks of Heracles to spite the Greek gods, and that they were punishing him by means of the picture for having once visited their country on a cattle-lifting foray, at the time when he raided most of the western nations in his quest of the herds of Geryon. But I have not yet mentioned the most surprising thing

¹ Chief of the Titans, who warred on Zeus and after their defeat were buried for ever in the bowels of the earth, below Tartarus.

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τῆς εἰκόνας· ὁ γὰρ δὴ γέρων Ἡρακλῆς ἐκείνος ἀνθρώπων πάμπολύ τι πλήθος ἔλκει ἐκ τῶν ὧτων ἅπαντας δεδεμένους. δεσμὰ δέ εἰσιν οἱ σειραὶ λεπταὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἡλέκτρον εἰργασμένοι ὄρμοις ἐοικυῖαι τοῖς καλλίστοις. καὶ ὅμως ὑφ' οὕτως ἀσθενῶν ἀγόμενοι οὔτε δρασμὸν βουλεύουσι, δυνάμενοι ἂν εὐμαρῶς, οὔτε ὅλως ἀντιτείνουσιν ἢ τοῖς ποσὶν ἀντερείδουσι πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον τῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐξυπτιάζοντες, ἀλλὰ φαιδροὶ ἔπονται καὶ γεγηθότες καὶ τὸν ἄγοντα ἐπαινοῦντες, ἐπειγόμενοι ἅπαντες καὶ τῷ φθάνειν ἐθέλειν τὸν δεσμὸν ἐπιχαλῶντες, ἐοικότες ἀχθεςθισομένοις εἰ λυθίσσονται. ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον εἶναί μοι ἔδοξεν, οὐκ ὀκνήσω καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχων ὁ ζωγράφος ὅθεν ἐξάψει ταῖς σειραῖς τὰς ἀρχάς,¹ ἅτε τῆς δεξιᾶς μὲν ἤδη τὸ ῥόπαλον, τῆς λαῖᾶς δὲ τὸ τόξον ἐχούσης, τρυπήσας τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν γλῶτταν ἄκραν ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐλκομένους αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἐπέστραπταί γε εἰς τοὺς ἀγομένους μειδιῶν.

Ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ εἰστήκειν ὁρῶν καὶ 4
θαυμάζων καὶ ἀπορῶν καὶ ἀγανακτῶν· Κελτὸς δέ τις παρεστὼς οὐκ ἀπαίδευτος τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὡς ἔδειξεν ἀκριβῶς Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν ἀφιεῖς, φιλόσοφος, οἶμαι, τὰ ἐπιχώρια, Ἐγὼ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ ξένε, λύσω τῆς γραφῆς τὸ αἰνιγμα· πάνυ γὰρ ταραττομένῳ ἔοικας πρὸς αὐτήν. τὸν λόγον ἡμεῖς οἱ Κελτοὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες Ἑρμῆν οἰόμεθα εἶναι, ἀλλ' Ἡρακλεῖ αὐτὸν εἰκάζομεν, ὅτι παρὰ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἰσχυρότερος οὗτος. εἰ δὲ γέρων πεποίηται, μὴ θαυμάσης· μόνος γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἐν γῇ φιλεῖ ἐντελῇ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἀκμήν, εἴ

¹ τὰς ἀρχάς Schwartz: τὰς τῶν δεσμῶν ἀρχάς MSS.

HERACLES

in the picture. That old Heracles of theirs drags after him a great crowd of men who are all tethered by the ears! His leashes are delicate chains fashioned of gold and amber, resembling the prettiest of necklaces. Yet, though led by bonds so weak, the men do not think of escaping, as they easily could, and they do not pull back at all or brace their feet and lean in the opposite direction to that in which he is leading them. In fact, they follow cheerfully and joyously, applauding their leader and all pressing him close and keeping the leashes slack in their desire to overtake him; apparently they would be offended if they were let loose! But let me tell you without delay what seemed to me the strangest thing of all. Since the painter had no place to which he could attach the ends of the chains, as the god's right hand already held the club and his left the bow, he pierced the tip of his tongue and represented him drawing the men by that means! Moreover, he has his face turned toward his captives, and is smiling.

I had stood for a long time, looking, wondering, puzzling and fuming, when a Celt at my elbow, not uncultured from our standpoint, as he showed by his accurate use of Greek, and no doubt a scholar from the native standpoint, said: "I will read you the riddle of the picture, stranger, as you seem to be very much disturbed about it. We Celts do not agree with you Greeks in thinking that Hermes is Eloquence: we identify Heracles with it, because he is far more powerful than Hermes. And don't be surprised that he is represented as an old man, for eloquence and eloquence alone is wont to show its

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

γε ἀληθῇ ὑμῶν οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι αἱ μὲν
 τῶν ὀπλοτέρων φρένες ἡερέθονται, τὸ δὲ γῆρας
 ἔχει τι λέξει τῶν νέων σοφώτερον. οὕτω γέ τοι
 καὶ τοῦ Νέστορος ὑμῖν ἀπορρεῖ ἐκ τῆς γλώττης
 τὸ μέλι, καὶ οἱ ἀγορηταὶ τῶν Τρώων τὴν ὅπα¹
 ἀφιάσιν εὐανθῇ τινα· λείρια γὰρ καλεῖται, εἰ γε
 μέμνημαι, τὰ ἄνθη. ὥστε εἰ τῶν ὧτων ἐκδεδε- 5
 μένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς τὴν γλώτταν ὁ γέρων
 οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς ἔλκει,² μηδὲ τοῦτο θαυμάσης εἰδὼς
 τὴν ὧτων καὶ γλώττης συγγένειαν· οὐδ' ὕβρις εἰς
 αὐτόν, εἰ ταύτῃ τετρύνηται· μέμνημαι γοῦν, ἔφη,
 καὶ κωμικῶν τινων ἱαμβείων παρ' ὑμῶν μαθών,
 τοῖς γὰρ λάλοις ἐξ ἄκρου ἢ γλωττία πᾶσιν ἐστι
 τετρυπημένη. τὸ δ' ὅλον καὶ αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς τὸν 6
 Ἡρακλέα λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡγούμεθα ἐξεργάσασθαι
 σοφὸν γενόμενον, καὶ πειθοῖ τὰ πλείστα βιάσασθαι.
 καὶ τά γε βέλη αὐτοῦ οἱ λόγοι εἰσίν, οἶμαι, ὅξεῖς
 καὶ εὖστοχοι καὶ ταχεῖς καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τιτρώ-
 σκοντες· πτερόεντα γοῦν τὰ ἔπη καὶ ὑμεῖς φατε
 εἶναι.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κελτός. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡνίκα περὶ 7
 τῆς δεῦρο παρόδου ταύτης ἐσκοπούμην πρὸς
 ἔμαυτόν, εἴ μοι καλῶς ἔχει τηλικῶδε ὄντι καὶ
 πάλαι τῶν ἐπιδείξεων πεπαυμένῳ αὐθις ὑπὲρ
 ἔμαυτοῦ ψῆφον διδόναι τοσοῦτοις δικασταῖς, κατὰ
 καιρὸν ἐπῆλθεν ἀναμνησθῆναι τῆς εἰκόνης· τέως

¹ τὴν ὅπα Schwartz : τὴν ὅπα τὴν λειριόεσσαν MSS.

² ἔλκει Hartman, Schwartz : ὁ λόγος ἔλκει MSS.

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full vigour in old age, if your poets are right in saying 'A young man hath a wandering wit'¹ and 'Old age has wiser words to say than youth.'² That is why your Nestor's tongue distils honey,³ and why the Trojan counsellors have a voice like flowers⁴ (the flowers mentioned are lilies, if my memory serves). This being so, if old Heracles here drags men after him who are tethered by the ears to his tongue, don't be surprised at that, either: you know the kinship between ears and tongue. Nor is it a slight upon him that his tongue is pierced. Indeed," said he, "I call to mind a line or two of comedy which I learned in your country:

the talkative

Have, one and all, their tongues pierced at the tip.⁵

In general, we consider that the real Heracles was a wise man who achieved everything by eloquence and applied persuasion as his principal force. His arrows represent words, I suppose, keen, sure and swift, which make their wounds in souls. In fact, you yourselves admit that words are winged."⁶

Thus far the Celt. And when I was debating with myself on the question of appearing here, considering whether it was proper for a man of my age, who had long ago given up lecturing in public, once more to subject himself to the verdict of so large a jury, it chanced in the nick of time that I remembered the picture. Until then I had been

¹ *Iliad* 3, 108.

² Eur. *Phoen.* 530.

³ *Iliad* 1, 249.

⁴ *Iliad* 3, 152.

⁵ Source unknown (Kock, *Com. Att. Fragm.*, *adesp.* 398).

⁶ Homer, *passim*.

μὲν γὰρ ἐδεδίδειν, μή τιτι ὑμῶν δόξαιμι κομιδῇ
 μεираκιώδη ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν
 νεανιεύεσθαι, κατὰ τις Ὀμηρικὸς νεανίσκος ἐπι-
 πλήξειέν μοι εἰπὼν τὸ σὴ δὲ βίη λέλυται, καὶ
 χαλεπὸν γῆρας κατεΐληφέ σε, ἡπεδανὸς δὲ νύ τοι
 θεράπων, βραδέες δέ τοι ἵπποι, ἐς τοὺς πόδας
 τοῦτο ἀποσκόπτων. ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀναμνησθῶ τοῦ
 γέροντος ἐκείνου Ἡρακλέους, πάντα ποιεῖν προ-
 ἄγομαι καὶ οὐκ αἰδοῦμαι τοιαῦτα τολμῶν ἡλικιώτης
 ὦν τῆς εἰκόνης. ὥστε ἰσχυρὸς μὲν καὶ τάχος καὶ 8
 κάλλος καὶ ὅσα σώματος ἀγαθὰ χαιρέτω, καὶ ὁ
 Ἔρως ὁ σὸς, ὦ Τήϊε ποιητά, ἐσιδὼν με ὑποπόλιον
 τὸ¹ γένειον χρυσοφαέννων εἰ βούλεται πτερύγων
 ταρσοῖς² παραπετέσθω, καὶ ὁ Ἰπποκλείδης οὐ
φροντιεῖ. τῷ λόγῳ δὲ νῦν ἂν μάλιστα ἀνηβᾶν
 καὶ ἀνθεῖν καὶ ἀκμάζειν καθ' ὥραν εἶη καὶ ἔλκειν
 τῶν ὠτων ὅσους ἂν πλείστους δύνηται, καὶ τοξεύειν
 πολλάκις, ὡς οὐδέν γε δέος μὴ κενωθεὶς λάθοι ὁ
 γωρυτὸς αὐτῷ.

Ὅρῳ ὅπως παραμυθοῦμαι τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ
 τὸ γῆρας τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτόλ-
 μησα πάλαι νενεωλκημένον τὸ ἀκάτιον κατα-
 σπάσας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἐπισκευάσας αὐθις
 ἀφείναι ἐς μέσον τὸ πέλαγος. εἶη δ', ὦ θεοί, καὶ

¹ τὸ Schwartz : not in MSS.

² ταρσοῖς Schwartz : ἡ ἀετοῖς MSS.

HERACLES

afraid that some of you might think I was doing an altogether boyish thing and at my age shewing the rashness of youth ; and that then some young fellow full of Homer might rebuke me by saying " Your strength is gone " and " Bitter old age has you in his clutch " and " Your squire is feeble and your steeds are slow,"¹ aiming the last quip at my feet. But when I remember that old Heracles, I am moved to undertake anything, and am not ashamed to be so bold, since I am no older than the picture. Goodbye, then, to strength, speed, beauty and all manner of physical excellence ! Let your god of love, O Tean poet,² glance at my grizzled chin and flit by me if he will on his gold-gleaming pinions : Hippoclides will not mind !³ Now should certainly be the time for eloquence to flourish and flower and reach its fulness, to drag as many as it can by the ears and to let fly many arrows. At least there is no fear that its quiver will unexpectedly run short !

You see what encouragement I apply to my age and my infirmities. This it is which gave me the heart to drag my pinnace, long ago laid up, to the water, provision her as best I could and set sail on the high seas once more. Be it your part,

¹ *Iliad* 8, 103 f. (spoken to Nestor).

² Anacreon (frg. 23 Bergk) : the poem is lost.

³ Hippoclides of Athens, one of many suitors for the hand of the daughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, was preferred above them all. But at the feast which was to have announced his engagement he danced so well and so unwisely that Cleisthenes was disgusted and said " Son of Tisander, you have danced yourself out of the match ! " " Hippoclides does not mind ! " was the answer he received. " Hence the proverb," as Herodotus says (6, 126-131).

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τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐμπνεῦσαι δεξιά, ὥς νῦν γε μάλιστα
πλησιιστίου τε καὶ ἐσθλοῦ ἐταίρου ἀνέμου δεόμεθα,
ἵνα, εἰ ἄξιοι φαινοίμεθα, καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν
ἐκεῖνο ἐπιφθέγξῃται τίς,

οἷν ἐκ ῥακέων ὁ γέρων ἐπιγουνίδα φαίνει.

15 V 16

HERACLES

ye gods, to blow me fair, for now if ever do I need a breeze "that fills the sail, a welcome shipmate."¹ If anyone thinks me worthy, I would have him apply to me the words of Homer:

"How stout a thigh the old man's rags reveal!"²

¹ *Odyss.* 11, 7 ; 12, 149.

² *Odyss.* 18, 74.

AMBER, OR THE SWANS

**The introduction to a lecture, evidently familiar to
Lucian's public under two names.**

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΤ ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΥ Η ΤΩΝ ΚΥΚΝΩΝ

Ἡλέκτρον πέρι καὶ ὑμᾶς δηλαδὴ ὁ μῦθος 1
πέπεικεν, αἰγείρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡριδανῷ ποταμῷ
δακρύνει αὐτὸ θρηγνύσας τὸν Φαέθοντα, καὶ
ἀδελφὰς γε εἶναι τὰς αἰγείρους ἐκείνας τοῦ
Φαέθοντος, εἶτα ὀδυρομένας τὸ μεράκιον ἀλλα-
γῆναι εἰς τὰ δένδρα, καὶ ἀποστάζειν ἔτι αὐτῶν
δάκρυον δῆθεν τὸ ἥλεκτρον. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἀμέλει
καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκούων τῶν ποιητῶν ἀδόντων ἡλπιζον,
εἴ ποτε γενοίμην ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡριδανῷ, ὑπελθὼν μίαν
τῶν αἰγείρων ἐκπετάσας τὸ προκόλπιον ὑποδέ-
ξεσθαι τῶν δακρύων ὀλίγα, ὥς ἥλεκτρον ἔχοιμι.
καὶ δὴ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατ' ἄλλο μὲν τι χρέος, 2
ἦκον δὲ ὅμως εἰς τὰ χωρία ἐκείνα, καὶ—ἔδει γὰρ
ἀναπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν Ἡριδανόν—οὗτ' αἰγείρους
εἶδον πάνυ περισκοπῶν οὔτε τὸ ἥλεκτρον, ἀλλ'
οὐδὲ τοῦνομα τοῦ Φαέθοντος ἤδεσαν οἱ ἐπι-
χώριοι. ἀναζητοῦντος γοῦν ἐμοῦ καὶ διαπνυθανο-
μένου, πότε δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰγείρους ἀφιξόμεθα
τὰς τὸ ἥλεκτρον, ἐγέλων οἱ ναῦται καὶ ἠξίουں σαφέ-
στερον λέγειν ὅ τι καὶ θέλοιμι· καὶ γὰρ τὸν μῦθον
διηγούμεν αὐτοῖς, Φαέθοντα γενέσθαι Ἡλίου
παῖδα, καὶ τοῦτον εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθόντα αἰτῆσαι
παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλάσαι τὸ ἄρμα, ὥς ποιήσῃ καὶ
αὐτὸς μίαν ἡμέραν, τὸν δὲ δοῦναι, τὸν δὲ ἀπολέ-
σθαι ἐκδιφρευθέντα, καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ

AMBER, OR THE SWANS

WITH regard to amber, you doubtless share the general belief in the story that poplars on the banks of the river Eridanus shed tears of it in grief over Phaethon ; and that these poplars are the sisters of Phaethon, who out of sorrow for the boy were changed into trees and still drip tears—of amber ! Such tales, when I heard them from the lips of the poets, made me expect that if ever I got to the Eridanus, by going underneath one of the poplars and holding out a fold of my cloak I could supply myself with amber by catching a few of their tears. As a matter of fact, I did visit those parts not long ago (on another errand, to be sure) ; and as I had to go up the Eridanus, I kept a sharp lookout, but neither poplars nor amber were to be seen. Indeed, the very name of Phaethon was unknown to the natives. At any rate, when I went into the matter and inquired when we should reach the poplars—"the amber-poplars,"—the boatmen laughed and asked me to tell them more plainly what I meant. So I told them the story : that Phaethon was the child of the Sun, and that on coming of age he asked his father to let him drive the car and "do just one day" himself ; his father consented, and he was thrown from the car and killed. "And his sisters," said I, "out of

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πενθούσας ἐνταῦθά που, ἔφην, παρ' ὑμῖν, ἵνα περ
καὶ κατέπεσεν, ἐπὶ τῷ Ἑριδανῷ, αἰγείρους
γενέσθαι καὶ δακρύειν ἔτι ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸ ἤλεκτρον.
Τίς ταῦτά σοι, ἔφασκον, διηγῆσατο ἀπατεῶν 3
καὶ ψευδολόγος ἄνθρωπος; ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε ἡνίοχόν
τινα ἐκπύπτοντα εἶδομεν οὔτε τὰς αἰγείρους ἅς
φῆς ἔχομεν. εἰ δὲ ἦν τι τοιοῦτον, οἷε ἡμᾶς δυοῖν
ὀβολοῖν ἔνεκα ἐρέττειν ἂν ἢ ἔλκειν τὰ πλοῖα πρὸς
ἐναντίον τὸ ὕδωρ, οἷς ἐξῆν πλουτεῖν ἀναλέγοντας
τῶν αἰγείρων τὰ δάκρυα; τοῦτο λεχθὲν οὐ μετρίως
μου καθίκετο, καὶ ἐσιώπησα αἰσχυνθείς, ὅτι
παιδίου τινὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔργον ἐπεπόνθειν πι-
στεύσας τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἀπίθانا οὕτως ψευδο-
μένοις, ὡς μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ἀρέσκεσθαι αὐτοῖς.

Μιᾶς μὲν δὴ ταύτης ἐλπίδος οὐ μικρὰς ἐψευσ-
μένος ἡνιῶμην καθάπερ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὸ ἤλεκτρον
ἀπολωλεκώς, ὅς γε ἤδη ἀνέπλαττον ὅσα καὶ οἶα
χρήσομαι αὐτῷ. ἐκείνο δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἀληθὲς 4
ᾧ μὲν εὐρήσειν παρ' αὐτοῖς, κύκνους πολλοὺς
ἄδοντας ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ αὖθις
ἡρώτων τοὺς ναύτας—ἀνεπλέομεν γὰρ ἔτι—' Ἀλλ'
οἳ γε κύκνοι πηνίκα ὑμῖν τὸ λιγυρὸν ἐκείνο
ἄδουσιν ἐφεστῶτες τῷ ποταμῷ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν;
φασὶ γοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος παρέδρους αὐτοὺς ὄντας,
ᾧ δικοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐνταῦθά που ἐς τὰ ὄρνεα
μεταπεσεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄδειν ἔτι οὐκ ἐκλα-
θόμενους τῆς μουσικῆς. οἱ δὲ σὺν γέλωτι, 5
Σὺ, ἔφησαν, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, οὐ παύσῃ τήμερον
καταψευδόμενος τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ποτα-
μοῦ; ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰὲν πλέοντες καὶ ἐκ παίδων
σχεδὸν ἐργαζόμενοι ἐν τῷ Ἑριδανῷ ὀλίγους μὲν

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sorrow turned into poplars somewhere in this neighbourhood of yours, on the banks of the Eridanus, at the spot where he fell, and still weep for him with tears of amber." "Who told you that?" said they. "The cheat and liar! We never saw any driver fall from a car, and we haven't the poplars you speak of. If we had anything of that sort, do you suppose that for two obols we would row or tow our boats upstream, when we could get rich by picking up the tears of the poplars?" This remark struck me uncommonly, and I held my tongue for shame that I had acted like a child, and no mistake, in believing the poets, who are such incredible liars that nothing sensible finds any favour with them.

Well, this was one great expectation that I was disappointed in; and I was as vexed as if I had let the amber slip through my fingers, for I was already imagining all the different uses which I should make of it. But the other story I thought I should find completely true there—the one about troops of swans that sing on the banks of the river. So I put a second question to the boatmen—for we were still on our way up. "But, how about your swans?" I asked. "At what time do they sing so melodiously, ranged along the river, on this side and on that? People say, at all events, that they were associates of Apollo, men with the gift of song, who somewhere in these parts changed into birds, and for that reason do not forget their music, but still continue to sing." With a burst of laughter they replied: "Why, man, aren't you ever going to stop telling lies about our country and our river? We are always on the water, and have worked on the Eridanus since we were children, almost; now and

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κύκνους ἐνίοτε ὀρώμεν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ κρώζουσιν οὗτοί πάνυ ἄμουσον καὶ ἀσθενές, ὥς τοὺς κόρακας ἢ τοὺς κολοιοὺς Σειρήνας εἶναι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀδόντων δὲ ἡδὺ καὶ οἶον σὺ φῆς οὐδὲ ὄναρ ἀκηκόαμεν· ὥστε θαυμάζομεν πόθεν ταῦτα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφίκετο περὶ ἡμῶν.

Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔστι πιστεύον- 6
τας τοῖς πρὸς τὸ μείζον ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένοις. ὥστε καὶ γὰρ νῦν δέδια ὑπὲρ ἐμαντοῦ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἄρτι ἀφιγμένοι, καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀκροασόμενοι ἡμῶν, ἤλεκτρά τινα καὶ κύκνους ἐλπίσαντες εὐρήσειν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἔπειτα μετ' ὀλίγον ἀπέλθητε καταγε-
λῶντες τῶν ὑποσχομένων ὑμῖν τοιαῦτα πολλὰ κειμήλια ἐνεῖναι τοῖς λόγοις. ἀλλὰ μαρτύρομαι, ὥς ἐμοῦ τοιαῦτα μεγαλαυχουμένου περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε ἄλλος πω ἀκήκοεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἀκούσειέν ποτε. ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐντύχοις ἂν Ἡριδανοῖς τισι καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἤλεκτρον, ἀλλὰ χρυσὸς αὐτὸς ἀποστάζει τῶν λόγων, πολὺ τῶν κύκνων τῶν ποιητικῶν λιγυρωτέροις· τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν ὁράτε ἤδη ὅποιον ἀπλοϊκὸν καὶ ἄμυθον, οὐδέ τις ὥδῃ πρόσσεστιν. ὥστε ὅρα μὴ τοιοῦτό τι πάθης μείζω περὶ ἡμῶν ἐλπίσας, οἷόν τι πάσχουσιν οἱ τὰ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ὀρώντες· οἷόμενοι γὰρ τηλικαῦτα εἶναι αὐτὰ οἷα διεφαίνετο αὐτοῖς ἄνωθεν, εὐρυνο-
μένης τῆς σκιᾶς πρὸς τὴν αὐγήν, ἐπειδὰν ἀνα-
σπάσωσι, πολλῷ μικρότερα εὐρίσκοντες ἀνιῶνται· ἤδη οὖν σοι προλέγω, ἐκχέας τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀπο-
καλύψας τὰ μὴ μὴδὲν μέγα προσδοκῆσης ἀνιμή-
σεσθαι, ἢ σαυτὸν αἰτιάσῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος.

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then we see a few swans in the marshes by the river, and they have a very unmusical and feeble croak ; crows or daws are Sirens to them. As for the sweet song you speak of, we never heard it or even dreamed of it, so we wonder how these stories about us got to your people."

Many such deceptions can be practised on men when they put faith in those who exaggerate everything they tell. Therefore I am now afraid on my own account that you who have just come to town and are about to hear me for the first time may expect to find amber and swans here, and after a while may go away laughing at the men who promised you that such treasures were abundant in my discourse. But I swear that neither you nor anyone else ever heard me make such boasts about my compositions, and never will ! Others, to be sure, you can find in plenty of the Eridanus kind : their words distil very gold instead of amber, and they are far more melodious than the swans of poetry. But as for my talk, you already see how simple and matter-of-fact it is, and that there is no music to it. So look out that you do not set your hopes of me too high, and thereby have an experience like people who see things under water. They expect them to be as large as they looked through the water, from above, when the image was magnified under the light ; and when they fish them up, they are annoyed to find them a great deal smaller. I warn you, therefore, at the outset—don't expect that when you have bailed out the water and exposed my thoughts you will make a great haul, or else you will have yourselves to blame for your expectations !

THE FLY

It need hardly be said that this belongs to the domain of belles lettres, not of science. Like the Italian poets of the Renaissance, the rhetoricians of the *décadence* delighted to show their cunning by "praising" all manner of things good, bad, and indifferent.

ΜΤΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

Ἡ μυῖα ἔστι μὲν οὐ τὸ¹ σμικροτάτον τῶν 1
 ὀρνέων, ὅσον ἐμπίσι καὶ κώνωψι καὶ τοῖς ἔτι
 λεπτοτέροις παραβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἐκείνων
 μεγέθει προὔχει ὅσον αὐτὴ μελίττης ἀπολείπεται.
 ἐπτέρωται δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥς
 τοῖς μὲν ἀπανταχόθεν κομᾶν τοῦ σώματος, τοῖς
 δὲ ὠκυπτέροις χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀκρίδας
 καὶ τέττιγας καὶ μελίττας ἐστὶν ὑμενόπτερος,
 τοσοῦτον ἀπαλώτερα ἔχουσα τὰ πτερὰ ὅσον τῆς
 Ἑλληνικῆς ἐσθῆτος ἢ Ἰνδικῆ λεπτοτέρα καὶ
 μαλακώτερα· καὶ μὴν διήνθισται κατὰ τοὺς
 ταῶνας, εἴ τις ἀτενὲς βλέποι ἐς αὐτήν, ὅποταν 2
 ἐκπετάσασα πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον πτερύσσηται. ἢ
 δὲ πτήσις οὔτε κατὰ τὰς νυκτερίδας εἰρεσία
 συνεχεῖ τῶν πτερῶν οὔτε κατὰ τὰς ἀκρίδας μετὰ
 πηδήματος οὔτε ὥς οἱ σφῆκες μετὰ ροιζήματος,
 ἀλλ' εὐκαμπῆς πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν μέρος ὀρμήσῃ τοῦ
 αἵρος· καὶ μὴν κακεῖνο πρόσεστιν αὐτῇ, τὸ μὴ
 καθ' ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλὰ μετ' ὥδῆς πέτεσθαι οὐκ
 ἀπηνοῦς οἷα κωνώπων καὶ ἐμπίδων, οὐδὲ τὸ
 βαρύβρομον τῶν μελιττῶν ἢ τῶν σφηκῶν τὸ

¹ οὐ τὸ vulg. : οὕτω MSS. : οὐ τῶν σμικροτάτων ὀρνέων Nilén.

THE FLY

THE fly is not the smallest of winged creatures, at least in comparison with gnats and midges and things still tinier. On the contrary, she is as much larger than they as she is smaller than the bee. She is not provided with feathers like the birds,¹ so as to have some for plumage all over her body, and others to fly with, but like grasshoppers, locusts and bees, she has membranous wings, as much thinner than theirs as Indian stuffs are more delicate and softer than Greek. Moreover, they have the colours of a peacock in them, if you look at her sharply when she spreads them and flies in the sun. She does not fly like bats with a steady, oar-like movement of the wings, or like grasshoppers with a spring, or as wasps do, with a whizzing rush, but easily directs her course to any quarter of the air she will. She has also this characteristic, that her flight is not silent but musical : the sound is not shrill like that of gnats and midges, nor deep-toned like that of bees, nor fierce and

¹ Lit. "like the rest (of the *ὑπέρτα*)," which is illogical. Perhaps *ἀετοῖς* should be written.

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φοβερὸν καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν ἐνδεικνυμένης, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτόν ἐστι λιγυρωτέρα, ὅσον σάλπιγγος καὶ κυμβάλων αὐλοὶ μελιχρότεροι. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο 3 σῶμα ἢ μὲν κεφαλὴ λεπτότατα τῷ αὐχένι συνέχεται καὶ ἔστιν εὐπεριάγωγος, οὐ συμπεφυκυῖα ὥς ἢ τῶν ἀκρίδων· ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ προπετεῖς, πολὺ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχοντες· στέρνον εὐπαγές, καὶ ἐμπεφύκασιν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐντομῇ¹ οἱ πόδες οὐ κατὰ τοὺς σφῆκας πάνυ ἐσφιγμένη.² ἡ γαστήρ δὲ ὠχύρωται καὶ αὐτῇ³ καὶ θώρακι ἔοικεν ζώνας πλατείας καὶ φολίδας ἔχουσα. ἀμύνεται μέντοι οὐ κατὰ τοῦρροπύγιον ὥς σφήξ καὶ μέλιττα, ἀλλὰ τῷ στόματι καὶ τῇ προβοσκίδι, ἣν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν καὶ αὐτὴ ἔχουσα προνομεύει τε καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνεται καὶ προσφῦσα κατέχει κοτυληδόνι κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον ἐοικυῖαν. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῆς ὁδοὺς προκύπτει, ᾧ κεντοῦσα πίνει τοῦ αἵματος—πίνει μὲν γὰρ καὶ γάλακτος, ἡδὺ δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ αἷμα—οὐ μετὰ μεγάλης ὀδύνης τῶν κεντουμένων. ἐξάπους δὲ οὔσα τοῖς μὲν τέσσαρσι βαδίζει μόνοις, τοῖς δὲ προσθίοις δυσὶ καὶ ὅσα χερσὶ χρήται. ἴδοις ἂν οὖν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τεττάρων βεβηκυῖαν ἔχουσάν τι ἐν τοῖν χεροῖν μετέωρον ἐδώδιμον, ἀνθρωπίνως πάνυ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς.

Γίνεται δὲ οὐκ εὐθύς τοιαύτη, ἀλλὰ σκώληξ 4 τὸ πρῶτον ἥτοι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἄλλων ζώων ἀποθανόντων· εἶτα κατ' ὀλίγον πόδας τε ἐκφέρει καὶ φύει τὰ πτερὰ καὶ ἐξ ἑρπετοῦ ὄρνεον γίνεται καὶ κνοφορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἀποτίκτει σκώληκα μικρὸν τὴν μυῖαν ὑστερον. σύντροφος δὲ ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρ-

¹ τῇ ἐντομῇ Schwartz : not in MSS.

² ἐσφιγμένη Schwartz : ἐσφιγμένοι MSS.

³ αὐτῇ A. M. H. : αὐτῇ MSS.

THE FLY

threatening like that of wasps; it is much more melodious, just as flutes are sweeter than trumpet and cymbals. As for her body, the head is very delicately attached to the neck and so is easily moved, not fixed like the head of a grasshopper. The eyes are prominent, and have much the quality of horn. The breast is solid, and the legs grow right out-of the waist, which is not at all pinched up, as in wasps. As in them, the abdomen is armoured and resembles a corselet in having flat zones and scales. She differs, however, from the wasp and the bee, in that her weapon is not the hinder-part, but the mouth, or rather the proboscis; for, like the elephant, she has a trunk with which she forages, seizing things and holding them tenaciously, since it is like a tentacle at the end. A tooth protrudes from it with which the fly inflicts bites in order to drink the blood, for although she drinks milk, she likes blood also. The bite causes no great pain. Though she has six feet, she walks with only four and uses the two in front for all the purposes of hands. You can see her standing on four legs, holding up something to eat in her hands just as we human beings do.

The fly is not born in the form which I have described, but as a maggot from the dead bodies of men or animals. Then, little by little, she puts out legs, grows her wings, changes from a creeping to a flying thing, is impregnated and becomes mother to a little maggot which is to-morrow's fly. Living

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χουσα καὶ ὁμοδίαιτος καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος ἀπάντων
 γεύεται πλὴν ἐλαίου· θάνατος γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῦτο
 πιεῖν. καὶ μέντοι ὠκύμορος οὔσα—πάνυ γὰρ ἐς
 στενὸν ὁ βίος αὐτῇ συμμεμέτρηται—τῷ φωτὶ
 χαίρει μάλιστα καὶ τούτῳ πολιτεύεται· νυκτὸς δὲ
 εἰρήνην ἄγει καὶ οὔτε πέτεται οὔτε ἄδει, ἀλλ' ὑπέ-
 πτηχε καὶ ἀτρεμεῖ. 5 σύνεσιν δὲ οὐ μικρὰν αὐτῆς
 εἰπεῖν ἔχω, ὅποταν τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ πολέμιον
 αὐτῇ τὸν ἀράχνην διαδιδράσκη· λοχῶντά τε γὰρ
 ἐπιτηρεῖ καὶ ἀντίον αὐτῷ ὀρᾷ ἐκκλίνουσα τὴν
 ὁρμήν, ὥς μὴ ἀλίσκοιτο σαγηνευθεῖσα καὶ περι-
 πεσοῦσα ταῖς τοῦ θηρίου πλεκτάναις. τὴν μὲν
 γὰρ ἀνδρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν αὐτῆς οὐχ ἡμᾶς χρὴ
 λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὃς μεγαλοφρονότατος τῶν ποιητῶν
 Ὁμηρος· τὸν γὰρ ἄριστον τῶν ἡρώων ἐπαινέσαι
 ζητῶν οὐ λέοντι ἢ παρδάλει ἢ ὑτὲρ τὴν ἀλκὴν αὐτοῦ
 εἰκάζει, ἀλλὰ τῷ θάρσει τῆς μυίας καὶ τῷ ἀτρέστῳ
 καὶ λιπαρεῖ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως· οὐδὲ γὰρ θράσος
 ἀλλὰ θάρσος φησὶν αὐτῇ προσεῖναι. καὶ γὰρ εἰρ-
 γομένη, φησὶν, ὅμως οὐκ ἀφίσταται, ἀλλ' ἐφίεται
 τοῦ δῆγματος. οὕτω δὲ πάνυ ἐπαινεῖ καὶ ἀσπάζε-
 ται τὴν μυῖαν, ὥστε οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδ' ἐν ὀλίγοις
 μέμνηται αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις· οὕτω κοσμεῖ τὰ
 ἔπη μνημονευομένη. ἄρτι μὲν τὴν ἡγελαίαν
 πτηῖσιν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ γάλα διέρχεται,¹ ἄρτι δὲ τὴν

¹ *Iliad* 2, 469 : “ the many hordes of clustering flies
 That dart about the sheepfolds in the spring,
 When pails are wet with milk.”

Iliad 16, 641 : “ They swarmed about the body like the flies
 That in the fold buzz round the milky pails.”

THE FLY

in the society of man, on the same food and at the same table, she eats everything except oil: to taste this is death to her. Being the creature of a day—for life is meted out to her in very scant measure—she likes sunshine best and goes about her affairs in it. At night she keeps quiet and does not fly or sing, but hides away and is still. I can also mention her great intelligence in escaping her designing foe, the spider. She watches for him lurking in ambush, and is wary of him, turning aside from his attack, so as not to be captured by being ensnared and falling into the toils of the creature. Of her courage and bravery it is not for me to speak, but for Homer, the most mighty-mouthed of the poets; for when he seeks to praise the foremost of the heroes,¹ he does not compare his bravery to a lion's or a leopard's or a wild boar's, but to the fearlessness of the fly and the daring and insistency of her attack. He does not say that she is reckless, but fearless:² that even if she is kept away she does not desist but is eager to bite. So outspoken is he in his praise and fondness for the fly that he mentions her not merely once or twice but often; in consequence, references to her enhance the beauty of his poems. Now he describes her swarming flight after milk; now, when

¹ (*Iliad* 17, 570, Menelaus), into whose heart Athena "puts the boldness of the fly."

² The distinction (unknown to Homer) is between *thrasos* and *tharsos*.

THE WORKS' OF LUCIAN

Ἀθηνᾶν, ὁπότε τοῦ Μενέλεω τὸ βέλος ἀποκρούεται, ὥς μὴ ἐπὶ τὰ καιριώτατα ἐμπέσοι, εἰκάζων μητρὶ κηδομένη κοιμωμένου αὐτῇ τοῦ βρέφους, τὴν μυῖαν αὐτῆς ἐπείσάγει τῷ παραδείγματι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐπιθέτω καλλίστῳ αὐτὰς ἐκόσμησεν ἀδινὰς προσειπὼν καὶ τὴν ἀγέλην αὐτῶν ἔθνη καλῶν.

Οὕτω δὲ ἰσχυρά ἐστίν, ὥσθ' ὁπόταν τι δάκνη, 6
τιτρώσκει οὐκ ἀνθρώπου δέρμα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοὸς καὶ ἵππου, καὶ ἐλέφαντα λυπεῖ ἐς τὰς ῥυτίδας αὐτοῦ παρεισδυομένη καὶ τῇ αὐτῆς προνομαία κατὰ λόγον τοῦ μεγέθους ἀμύσσουσα. μίξεως δὲ καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ γάμων πολλὴ αὐταῖς ἡ ἐλευθερία, καὶ ὁ ἄρρην οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἀλεκτρυόνας ἐπιβάς εὐθύς ἀπεπήδησεν, ἀλλ' ἐποχεῖται τῇ θηλείᾳ ἐπὶ πολὺ, κακείνη φέρει τὸν νυμφίον, καὶ συμπέτονται τὴν ἐναέριον ἐκείνην μίξιν τῇ πτήσει μὴ διαφθείρουσαι. ἀποτμηθεῖσα δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν μυῖα ἐπὶ πολὺ ζῇ τῷ σώματι καὶ ἔμπνους ἐστίν.

Ὁ δὲ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ φύσει αὐτῶν ὑπάρχει, 7
τοῦτο δὴ βούλομαι εἰπεῖν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Πλάτων μόνον αὐτὸ παριδεῖν ἐν τῷ περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ ἀθανασίας αὐτῆς λόγῳ. ἀποθανοῦσα γὰρ μυῖα τέφρας ἐπιχυθείσης ἀνίσταται καὶ παλιγγενεσία τις αὐτῇ καὶ βίος ἄλλος ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς γίνεται, ὥς ἀκριβῶς πεπεισθαι πάντας, ὅτι κακείνων ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ, εἴ γε καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα ἐπανέρχεται πάλιν καὶ γνωρίζει καὶ ἐπανίστησι τὸ σῶμα καὶ πέτεσθαι τὴν μυῖαν ποιεῖ, καὶ ἐπαληθεύει τὸν περὶ Ἑρμοτίμου τοῦ Κλαζομενίου μῦθον, ὅτι πολλάκις ἀφιεῖσα αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχὴ

THE FLY

Athena turns the arrow aside from Menelaus in order that it may not strike a vital spot, he likens her to a mother tending a sleeping child, and again introduces the fly into the comparison.¹ Moreover, he has adorned them with fine epithets in calling them "clustering" and their swarms "hordes."²

So strong is the fly that when she bites she wounds the skin of the ox and the horse as well as that of man. She even torments the elephant by entering his wrinkles and lancing him with her proboscis as far as its length allows. In mating, love, and marriage they are very free and easy. The male is not on and off again in a moment, like the cock; he covers the female a long time. She carries her spouse, and they take wing together, mating uninterruptedly in the air, as everyone knows. A fly with her head cut off keeps alive a long time with the rest of her body, and still retains the breath of life.

You may be sure I propose to mention the most important point in the nature of the fly. It is, I think, the only point that Plato overlooks in his discussion of the soul and its immortality. When ashes are sprinkled on a dead fly, she revives and has a second birth and a new life from the beginning. This should absolutely convince everyone that the fly's soul is immortal like ours, since after leaving the body it comes back again, recognises and reanimates it, and makes the fly take wing. It also confirms the story that the soul of Hermotimus of Clazomenae would often leave him and go away

¹ *Iliad* 4, 130.

² *Iliad* 2, 469.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀπεδήμει καθ' ἑαυτήν, εἶτα ἐπανελθοῦσα ἐπλήρου αὐθις τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀνίστα τὸν Ἑρμότιμον.

Ἄργος δὲ αὐτὴ καὶ ἄνετος οὖσα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν 8
ἄλλων πονοῦμενα καρποῦται καὶ πλήρης αὐτῇ
πανταχοῦ τράπεζα· καὶ γὰρ αἱ αἰγες αὐτῇ ἀμέλ-
γονται, καὶ ἡ μέλιττα οὐχ ἥκιστα μυῖαις καὶ
ἀνθρώποις ἐργάζεται, καὶ οἱ ὄψοποιοὶ ταύτῃ τὰ
ὄψα ἡδύνουσι, καὶ βασιλέων αὐτῶν προγεύεται
καὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἐμπεριπατοῦσα συνεστιᾶται
αὐτοῖς καὶ συναπολαύει πάντων. νεοττιὰν δὲ 9
ἡ καλλιὰν οὐκ ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ κατεστήσατο, ἀλλὰ
πλάνητα τὴν πτήσιν κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπανηρη-
μένη, ὅπου ἂν τύχῃ ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς καταληφθεῖσα,
ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐστίαν καὶ εὐνὴν ποιεῖται. ὑπὸ σκότῳ
μέντοι, ὥς ἔφην, οὐδὲν ἐργάζεται οὐδὲ ἀξιοῖ
λανθάνειν τι πράττουσα, οὐδὲ ἡγεῖται τι αἰσχρὸν
ποιεῖν, ὃ ἐν φωτὶ δρώμενον αἰσχυνεῖ αὐτήν.

Φησὶν δὲ ὁ μῦθος καὶ ἄνθρωπόν τινα Μυῖαν 10
τὸ ἀρχαῖον γενέσθαι πάννυ καλήν, λάλον μέντοι
γε καὶ στωμύλον καὶ ὥδικήν, καὶ ἀντερασθῆναί
γε τῇ Σελήνῃ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀμφοτέρας¹ τοῦ
Ἑνδυμῖωνος. εἰτ' ἐπειδὴ κοιμώμενον τὸ μερά-
κιον συνεχὲς ἐπήγειρεν ἐρεσχηλοῦσα καὶ ἄδουσα
καὶ κωμάζουσα ἐπ' αὐτόν, τὸν μὲν ἀγανακτῆσαι,
τὴν δὲ Σελήνην ὀργισθεῖσαν εἰς τοῦτο τὴν Μυῖαν
μεταβαλεῖν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσι νῦν τοῖς κοιμω-
μένοις αὐτὴν τοῦ ὕπνου φθονεῖν μεμνημένην ἔτι
τοῦ Ἑνδυμῖωνος, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς νέοις καὶ
ἀπαλοῖς· καὶ τὸ δῆγμα δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡ τοῦ αἵματος
ἐπιθυμία οὐκ ἀγριότητος, ἀλλ' ἔρωτός ἐστι ση-

¹ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀμφοτέρας: probably a gloss (Herwerden, Nilén).

THE FLY

by itself, and then, returning, would occupy his body again and restore him to life.

Knowing not labour and living at large, the fly enjoys the fruits of the toil of others, and finds a bounteous table set everywhere. Goats give milk for her, bees work for flies and for men quite as much as for themselves, and cooks sweeten food for her. She takes precedence even of kings in eating, and walks about on their tables sharing their feasts and all their enjoyment. She does not make a nest or habitation in any one place, but taking up a roving, Scythian life on the wing, finds bed and board wherever night chances to overtake her. But in the dark, as I have said, she does nothing: she has no desire for stealthy actions and no thought of disgraceful deeds which would discredit her if they were done by daylight.

The story goes that long ago there was a human being called Muia, a girl who was very pretty, but talkative, noisy, and fond of singing. She became a rival of Selene by falling in love with Endymion, and as she was for ever waking the boy out of his sleep by chattering and singing and paying him visits, he became vexed at her, and Selene in anger turned her into the fly we know.¹ So, in remembrance of Endymion, she begrudges all sleepers their repose, especially those of tender years; and even her biting and bloodthirstiness is not a sign of savagery, but of love and friendship. She gets what satisfac-

¹ The story explains the word *μῦια*, "fly," as having been originally the name of a girl.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

μείον καὶ φιλανθρωπίας· ὥς γὰρ δυνατὸν ἀπο-
λαύει καὶ τοῦ κάλλους τι ἀπανθίζεται.

Ἐγένετο κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ γυνή τις 11
ὁμώνυμος αὐτῇ, ποιήτρια, πάνυ καλὴ καὶ σοφὴ,
καὶ ἄλλη ἑταίρα τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐπιφανής, περὶ ἧς
καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς ποιητὴς ἔφη, ἡ Μυῖα ἔδακνεν αὐτὸν
ἄχρι τῆς καρδίας· οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡ κωμικὴ χάρις
ἀπηξιώσεν οὐδὲ ἀπέκλεισε τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ τῆς
μυίας ὄνομα, οὐδ' οἱ γονεῖς ἡδoῦντο τὰς θυγατέρας
οὕτω καλοῦντες. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τραγῳδία καὶ σὺν
μεγάλῳ ἐπαίνῳ μέμνηται τῆς μυίας, ὥς ἐν τούτοις,

δεινόν γε τὴν μὲν μυῖαν ἀλκίμῳ σθένει
πηδᾶν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν σώμαθ', ὥς πλησθῇ φόνου,
ἄνδρας δ' ὀπλίτας πολέμιον ταρβεῖν δόρυ.

πολλὰ δ' ἂν εἶχον εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ Μυίας τῆς
Πυθαγορικῆς, εἰ μὴ γνῶριμος ἦν ἅπασιν ἡ κατ'
αὐτὴν ἱστορία.

Γίγνονται δὲ καὶ μέγισταί τινες μυῖαι, ἃς 12
στρατιώτιδας οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κύνας,
τραχύταται τὸν βόμβον καὶ τὴν πτῆσιν ὠκύταται,
αἱ γε καὶ μακροβιώταταί εἰσιν καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος
ὅλου ἄσιτοι διακαρτεροῦσιν ὑπεπτηχυῖαι τοῖς
ὀρόφοις μάλιστα, ἐφ' ὧν κακεῖνο θαυμάζειν ἄξιον,
ὅτι ἀμφότερα, καὶ τὰ θηλειῶν καὶ τὰ ἀρρένων,

THE FLY

tion she can, and culls something of the bloom of beauty.

According to the ancients she has had two namesakes, a very pretty and accomplished poetess and a famous Athenian courtesan. It was the latter whom the comic poet meant when he said, "Yon fly him to the heart did bite."¹ From this you see that comic wit has not disdained the name of fly nor barred it from the boards, and that parents have not been ashamed to give it to their daughters. As for tragedy, it, too, mentions the fly with great praise; for example, in these words:

"'Tis strange that while the fly with hardy
strength
Encounters man to sate itself with gore,
Stout men-at-arms should fear the foeman's
lance!"²

I could also say a great deal about Muia, the Pythagorean, if her story were not known to everyone.³

There are very large flies, too, which most people call camp-flies, though some call them dog-flies. They have a very harsh buzz and a very rapid flight. They are extremely long-lived, and endure the whole winter without food, usually hiding in the roof. Another surprising thing in

¹ Unknown (Kock, *adesp.* 475).

² Source unknown (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Fragm., adesp.* 295).

³ Very little of her story is known to us. She is said to have been daughter of Pythagoras and wife of Milo, the athlete of Croton.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

δρῶσιν καὶ βαινόμεναι καὶ¹ βαίνοντες ἐν τῷ μέρει
κατὰ τὸν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης παῖδα τὸν μικτὸν
τὴν φύσιν καὶ διττὸν τὸ κάλλος. πολλὰ δ' ἔτι
ἔχων εἰπεῖν καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον, μὴ καὶ δόξω
κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἐλέφαντα ἐκ μυίας ποιεῖν.

¹ βαινόμεναι καὶ Schwartz : not in MSS.

15 Υ 16

THE FLY

them is that they are bisexual, like the child of Hermes and Aphrodite, who had two natures and double beauty.

Though I still have a great deal to say, I will stop talking, for fear you may think that, as the saying goes, I am making an elephant out of a fly.

NIGRINUS

Except through Lucian, nothing is known of this philosopher. Some have sought to identify him with one Albinus, about whom we have scarcely any information, and others have thought him a child of Lucian's fancy. But it is quite possible that he really existed, and led, as Lucian says, a life of retirement.

ΠΡΟΣ ΝΙΓΡΙΝΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

Λουκιανὸς Νιγρίνῳ εὖ πράττειν. Ἡ μὲν παροιμία φησὶν, Γλαῦκα εἰς Ἀθήνας, ὡς γελοῖον ὃν εἴ τις ἐκεῖ κομίζοι γλαῦκας, ὅτι πολλαὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰσιν. ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν δύναμιν λόγων ἐπιδείξασθαι βουλόμενος ἔπειτα Νιγρίνῳ γράψας βιβλίον ἔπεμπον, εἰχόμεν ἂν τῷ γελοίῳ γλαῦκας ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐμπορευόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ μόνην σοι δηλῶσαι τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐθέλω, ὅπως τε νῦν ἔχω καὶ ὅτι μὴ παρέργως εἴλημμαι πρὸς τῶν σῶν λόγων, ἀποφεύγοιμ' ἂν εἰκότως καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου λέγοντος, ὅτι ἡ ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, ὀκνηροὺς δὲ τὸ λελογισμένον ἀπεργάζεται· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὐχ ἡ ἀμαθία μοι μόνη τῆς τοιαύτης τόλμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἔρως αἷτιος. ἔρρωσο.

ΝΙΓΡΙΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

Ὡς σεμνὸς ἡμῖν σφόδρα καὶ μετέωρος ἐπανε- 1
λήλυθας. οὐ τοίνυν προσβλέπειν ἡμᾶς ἔτι
ἀξιοῖς οὐθ' ὁμιλίας μεταδίδως οὔτε κοινωνεῖς τῶν
ὁμοίων λόγων, ἀλλ' ἄφνω μεταβέβλησαι καὶ ὅλως

LETTER TO NIGRINUS

BEST wishes to Nigrinus from Lucian !

The proverb says "An owl to Athens!" meaning that it would be ridiculous for anyone to bring owls there, because they have plenty in the city. If I wanted to display my command of language, and were sending Nigrinus a book written for that purpose, I should be exposing myself to ridicule as a genuine importer of owls. But it is only my state of mind which I wish to reveal to you, how I feel now, and how deeply I have been moved by your discourse. So I may fairly be acquitted even of the charge contained in Thucydides' saying¹ that ignorance makes men bold, but discourse² cautious, for clearly this great hardihood of mine is not due to ignorance alone, but also to fondness for discourse ! Good health to you !

THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

A. How very lordly and exalted you are since you came back ! Really, you don't deign to notice us any more, you don't associate with us, and you don't join in our conversations : you have changed

¹ 2, 40, 3.

² To bring out the play on words, "discourse" is used here in the obsolete sense of "consideration, reflection."

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ὑπεροπτικῷ τινι ἔοικας. ἡδέως δ' ἂν παρὰ σοῦ
πυθοίμην, ὅθεν οὕτως ἀτόπως ἔχεις καὶ τί τούτων
αἴτιον.

Τί γὰρ ἄλλο γε, ὦ ἐταῖρε, ἢ εὐτυχία;

Πῶς λέγεις;

Ὅδοῦ πάρεργον ἤκω σοι εὐδαίμων τε καὶ
μακάριος γεγεννημένος καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς
σκηνῆς ὄνομα, τρισόλβιος.

Ἡράκλεις, οὕτως ἐν βραχεῖ;

Καὶ μάλα.

Τί δέ, τὸ μετὰ¹ τοῦτο, ἐστὶν ἐφ' ὅτῳ καὶ κομᾶς;
ἵνα μὴ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ μόνῳ εὐφραινώμεθα, ἔχω-
μεν δέ τι καὶ ἀκριβὲς εἰδέναι τὸ πᾶν ἀκούσαντες.

Οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἶναί σοι δοκεῖ πρὸς Διός, ἀντὶ
μὲν δούλου με ἐλεύθερον, ἀντὶ δὲ πένητος ὡς
ἀληθῶς πλούσιον, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀνοήτου τε καὶ τετυ-
φωμένου γενέσθαι μετριώτερον;

Μέγιστον μὲν οὖν· ἀτὰρ οὕτω μανθάνω σαφῶς 2
ὅ τι καὶ λέγεις.

Ἐστάλην μὲν εὐθὺ τῆς πόλεως βουλόμενος
ἱατρὸν ὀφθαλμῶν θεάσασθαι τινα· τὸ γάρ μοι
πάθος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ μᾶλλον ἐπετείνεται.

Οἶδα τούτων ἕκαστα, καὶ ηὑξάμην σέ τινι
σπουδαίῳ ἐπιτυχεῖν.

Δόξαν οὖν μοι διὰ πολλοῦ προσειπεῖν Νιγρίνον
τὸν Πλατωνικὸν φιλόσοφον, ἔωθεν ἐξαναστάς ὡς
αὐτὸν ἀφικόμην καὶ κόψας τὴν θύραν τοῦ παιδὸς
εἰσαγγεῖλάντος ἐκλήθην· καὶ παρελθὼν εἶσω
καταλαμβάνω τὸν μὲν ἐν χερσὶ βιβλίον ἔχοντα,

¹ μετὰ MSS. : μέγα du Soul.

THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

all of a sudden, and, in short, have a supercilious air. I should be glad to find out from you how it comes that you are so peculiar, and what is the cause of all this?

B. Nothing but good fortune, my dear fellow.

A. What do you mean?

B. I have come back to you transformed by the wayside into a happy and a blissful man—in the language of the stage, “thrice blessed.”

A. Heracles! in so short a time?

B. Yes, truly.

A. But what is the rest of it? What is it that you are puffed up about? Let us enjoy something more than a mere hint: let us have a chance to get at the facts by hearing the whole story.

B. Don't you think it wonderful, in the name of Zeus, that once a slave, I am now free! “once poor, now rich indeed”; once witless and befogged, now saner?¹

A. Why, yes! nothing could be more important. But even yet I don't clearly understand what you mean.

B. Well, I made straight for Rome, wanting to see an oculist; for I was having more and more trouble with my eye.

A. I know all that, and hoped you would find an able man.

B. As I had resolved to pay my respects to Nigrinus the Platonic philosopher, which I had not done for a long time, I got up early and went to his house, and when I had knocked at the door and the man had announced me, I was asked in. On

¹ Apparently a free quotation from some play that is lost. (Kock, *adesp.* 1419.)

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πολλὰς δὲ εἰκόνας παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων ἐν κύκλῳ
κειμένας. προὔκειτο δὲ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ πινάκιόν
τισι τῶν ἀπὸ γεωμετρίας σχημάτων καταγεγραμ-
μένον καὶ σφαῖρα καλάμου πρὸς τὸ τοῦ παντὸς
μίμημα ὡς ἐδόκει πεποιημένη. σφόδρα οὖν με 3
φιλοφρόνως ἀσπασάμενος ἠρώτα ὃ τι πράττοιμι.
καὶ γὰρ πάντα διηγησάμην αὐτῷ, καὶ δῆτα ἐν
μέρει καὶ αὐτὸς ἠξίου ἐιδέναι ὃ τι τε πράττοι
καὶ εἰ αὐτῷ ἐγνωσμένον εἴη στέλλεσθαι τὴν
ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

‘Ὁ δὲ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀρξάμενος,¹ ὦ ἐταῖρε,
περὶ τούτων λέγειν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην
διηγέισθαι τοσαύτην τινά μου λόγων ἀμ-
βροσίαν κατεσκέδασεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς Σειρήνας
ἐκείνας, εἴ τινες ἄρα ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὰς ἀηδόνας
καὶ τὸν Ὀμήρου λωτὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀποδείξαι· οὕτω
θεσπέσια ἐφθέγγετο. προήχθη γὰρ αὐτὴν τε 4
φιλοσοφίαν ἐπαινέσαι καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐλευ-
θερίαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων νομιζομένων ἀγαθῶν
καταγελάσαι, πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ βασιλείας
καὶ τιμῆς, ἔτι τε χρυσοῦ καὶ πορφύρας, τῶν πάνυ
περιβλέπτων τοῖς πολλοῖς, τέως δὲ κάμοι δοκούν-
των. ἅπερ ἔγωγε ἀτενεῖ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη τῇ
ψυχῇ δεξάμενος αὐτίκα μὲν οὐδὲ εἶχον εἰκάσαι
ὅπερ ἐπεπόνθειν, ἀλλὰ παντοῖος ἐγυγνόμην· καὶ
ἄρτι μὲν ἐλυπούμην, ἐληλεγμένων μοι τῶν φιλτά-
των, πλούτου τε καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ δόξης, καὶ
μόνον οὐκ ἐδάκρυον ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς καθηρημένοις, ἄρτι

¹ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀρξάμενος Schwartz : ἀπαρξάμενος MSS.

THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

entering, I found him with a book in his hands and many busts of ancient philosophers standing round about. Beside him there had been placed a tablet filled with figures in geometry and a reed globe, made, I thought, to represent the universe. Well, he greeted me in a very friendly way and asked me how I was getting on. I told him everything, and naturally in my own turn wanted to know how he was getting on, and whether he had made up his mind to take the trip to Greece again.

Beginning to talk on these topics and to explain his position, my dear fellow, he poured enough ambrosial speech over me to put out of date the famous Sirens¹ (if there ever were any) and the nightingales² and the lotus of Homer.³ A divine utterance! For he went on to praise philosophy and the freedom that it gives, and to ridicule the things that are popularly considered blessings—wealth and reputation, dominion and honour, yes and purple and gold—things accounted very desirable by most men, and till then by me also. I took it all in with eager, wide-open soul, and at the moment I couldn't imagine what had come over me; I was all confused. Then I felt hurt because he had criticised what was dearest to me—wealth and money and reputation,—and I all but cried over their downfall;

¹ *Odyss.* 12, 39; 167.

² *Odyss.* 19, 518.

³ *Odyss.* 9, 94. The lotus is mentioned because of its effect. It made Odysseus' shipmates

“Among the Lotus-eaters fain to stay
And gather lotus, and forget their homes.”

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

δὲ αὐτὰ μὲν ἐδόκει μοι ταπεινὰ καὶ καταγέλαστα·
 ἔχαιρον δ' αὖ ὥσπερ¹ ἐκ ζοφεροῦ τινος ἀέρος
 τοῦ βίου τοῦ πρόσθεν ἐς αἰθρίαν τε καὶ μέγα φῶς
 ἀναβλέπων· ὥστε δὴ, τὸ καινότατον, τοῦ ὀφθαλ-
 μοῦ μὲν καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσθενείας ἐπελανθα-
 νόμην, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ὀξυδερκέστερος κατὰ μικρὸν
 ἐγιγνόμεν· ἐλελήθειν γὰρ τέως αὐτὴν τυφλώττου-
 σαν περιφέρων. προῦν δὲ ἐς τόδε περιήχθην, 5
 ὅπερ ἀρτίως ἡμῖν ἐπεκάλεις· γαῦρός τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 λόγου καὶ μετέωρός εἰμι καὶ ὅλως μικρὸν οὐκέτι
 οὐδὲν ἐπινοῶ· δοκῶ γάρ μοι ὁμοίον τι πεπονθέναι
 πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, οἷόν περ καὶ οἱ Ἴνδοι πρὸς τὸν
 οἶνον λέγονται παθεῖν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἔπιον αὐτοῦ·
 θερμότεροι γὰρ ὄντες φύσει πίνοντες ἰσχυρὸν οὕτω
 ποτὸν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐξεβακχεύθησαν καὶ δι-
 πλασίως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου ἐξεμάνησαν. οὕτω
 σοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔνθεος καὶ μεθύων ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων
 περιέρχομαι.

Καὶ μὴν τοῦτό γε οὐ μεθύειν, ἀλλὰ νήφειν 6
 τε καὶ σωφρονεῖν ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν,
 εἰ οἷόν τε, αὐτῶν ἀκοῦσαι τῶν λόγων· οὐδὲ γὰρ
 οὐδὲ φθονεῖν² αὐτῶν οἶμαι θέμις, ἄλλως τε εἰ
 καὶ φίλος καὶ περὶ τὰ ὅμοια ἐσπουδακῶς ὁ βουλό-
 μενος ἀκούειν εἴη.

Θάρρει, ὦγαθέ· τοῦτο γάρ τοι τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου,
 σπεύδοντα καὶ αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖς, καὶ εἴ γε μὴ
 ἔφθης, αὐτὸς ἂν ἐδεήθην ἀκοῦσαί μου διηγουμένου·
 μάρτυρα γάρ σε παραστήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς
 πολλοὺς ἐθέλω, ὅτι οὐκ ἀλόγως μαίνομαι· ἄλλως

¹ αὖ ὥσπερ vulg. : ἂν ὥσπερ MSS. : ὥσπερ ἂν Schwartz.

² φθονεῖν Jacobitz : καταφρονεῖν MSS. Schwartz assumes
 a lacuna after γάρ.

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and then I thought them paltry and ridiculous, and was glad to be looking up, as it were, out of the murky atmosphere of my past life to a clear sky and a great light. In consequence, I actually forgot my eye and its ailment—would you believe it?—and by degrees grew sharper-sighted in my soul; which, all unawares, I had been carrying about in a purblind condition till then. I went on and on, and so got into the state with which you just reproached me: what he said has made me proud and exalted, and in a word, I take no more notice of trifles. I suppose I have had the same sort of experience with philosophy that the Hindoos are said to have had with wine when they first tasted it. As they are by nature more hot-blooded than we, on taking such strong drink they became uproarious at once, and were crazed by the unwatered beverage twice as much as other people. There you have it! I am going about enraptured and drunk with the wine of his discourse.

A. Why, that isn't drunkenness, it is sobriety and temperance! I should like to hear just what he said, if possible. It is far, very far from right, in my opinion, to be stingy with it, especially if the person who wants to hear is a friend and has the same interests.

B. Cheer up, good soul! you spur a willing horse, as Homer says,¹ and if you hadn't got ahead of me, I myself should have begged you to listen to my tale, for I want to have you bear witness before the world that my madness has reason in it. Then, too,

¹ *Iliad* 8, 293.

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τε καὶ ἡδύ μοι τὸ μεμνησθαι αὐτῶν πολλάκις, καὶ ταύτην ἤδη μελέτην ἐποιησάμην· ἐπεὶ καὶ τις μὴ παρὼν τύχῃ, καὶ οὕτω δις ἢ τρίς τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνακυκλῶ πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν τὰ εἰρημένα. καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ ἐρασταὶ τῶν παιδικῶν οὐ παρόντων ἔργ' ἅττα καὶ λόγους εἰρημένους αὐτοῖς διαμνημονεύουσι καὶ τούτοις ἐνδιατρίβοντες ἐξαπατῶσι τὴν νόσον, ὡς παρόντων σφίσι τῶν ἀγαπωμένων—ἐνιοὶ γοῦν αὐτοῖς καὶ προσλαλεῖν οἶονται καὶ ὡς ἄρτι λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὧν τότε ἤκουσαν, ἡδονται καὶ προσάψαντες τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν παρεληλυθότων σχολὴν οὐκ ἄγουσιν τοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ἀνιᾶσθαι—οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς φιλοσοφίας οὐ παρούσης τοὺς λόγους, οὓς τότε ἤκουσα, συναγείρων καὶ πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἀνατυλίττων οὐ μικρὰν ἔχω παραμυθίαν, καὶ ὅλως καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει καὶ νυκτὶ πολλῇ φερόμενος, ἐς πυρσὸν τινα τοῦτον ἀποβλέπω, πᾶσι μὲν παρεῖναι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πραττομένοις τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκείνουν οἰόμενος, αἰεὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ πρὸς με λέγοντος· ἐνίστε δέ, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἐνερείσω τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ μοι φαίνεται καὶ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ ἦχος ἐν ταῖς ἀκοαῖς παραμένει· καὶ γάρ τοι κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐγκατέλιπέν τι κέντρον τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.¹

¹ Cf. Eupolis (Kock, 94).

κράτιστος οὗτος ἐγένετ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν·
 ὁπότε παρέλθοι δ', ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ δρομῆς,
 ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ἦρει λέγων τοὺς ῥήτορας,
 ταχὺν λέγεις μὲν, πρὸς δέ γ' αὐτῷ τῷ τάχει
 πειθῶ τις ἐπεκάθειζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν·
 οὕτως ἐκῆλει καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων
 τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις,

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I take pleasure in calling his words to mind frequently, and have already made it a regular exercise: even if nobody happens to be at hand, I repeat them to myself two or three times a day just the same. I am in the same case with lovers. In the absence of the objects of their fancy they think over their actions and their words, and by dallying with these beguile their lovesickness into the belief that they have their sweethearts near; in fact, sometimes they even imagine they are chatting with them and are as pleased with what they formerly heard as if it were just being said, and by applying their minds to the memory of the past give themselves no time to be annoyed by the present. So I, too, in the absence of my mistress Philosophy, get no little comfort out of gathering together the words that I then heard and turning them over to myself. In short, I fix my gaze on that man as if he were a lighthouse and I were adrift at sea in the dead of night, fancying him by me whenever I do anything and always hearing him repeat his former words. Sometimes, especially when I put pressure on my soul, his face appears to me and the sound of his voice abides in my ears. Truly, as the comedian says,¹ "he left a sting implanted in his hearers!"

¹ Eupolis in the *Demes*, referring to Pericles (Kock, 94).

"None better in the world to make a speech!
He'd take the floor and give your orators
A ten-foot start, as a good runner does,
And then catch up. Yes, he was fleet, and more—
Persuasion used to perch upon his lips,
So great his magic; he alone would leave
His sting implanted in his auditors."

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Παῦε, ὦ θαυμάσιε, μακρὸν¹ ἀνακρουόμενος 8
καὶ λέγε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν ἤδη τὰ εἰρημένα· ὡς
οὐ μετρίως με ἀποκναίεις περιάγων.

Εὖ λέγεις, καὶ οὕτω χρή ποιεῖν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνο,
ὦ ἐταῖρε—ἤδη τραγικούς ἢ καὶ νῆ Δία κωμικούς
φαύλους ἑώρακας ὑποκριτάς, τῶν συριττομένων
λέγω τούτων καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ ποιήματα καὶ
τὸ τελευταῖον ἐκβαλλομένων, καίτοι τῶν δραμάτων
πολλάκις εὖ ἐχόντων τε καὶ νενικηκότων;

Πολλοὺς οἶδα τοιούτους. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο;

Δέδοικα μὴ σοι μεταξὺ δόξω γελοίως αὐτὰ
μιμῆσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἀτάκτως συνείρων, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ
αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας τὸν νοῦν διαφθεῖρων, καὶ τα
προαχθῆς ἡρέμα καὶ αὐτοῦ καταγνῶναι τοῦ
δράματος. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐμόν, οὐ πάννυ ἄχθομαι, ἢ δὲ
ὑπόθεσις οὐ μετρίως με λυπήσειν ἔοικε συνεκπί-
πτουσα καὶ τὸ ἐμόν μέρος ἀσχημονοῦσα. τοῦτ' 9
οὖν παρ' ὅλον μέμνησό μοι τὸν λόγον, ὡς ὁ μὲν
ποιητὴς ἡμῖν τῶν τοιούτων ἀμαρτημάτων ἀνεύ-
θυνος καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς πόρρω ποι κάθηται, οὐδὲν
αὐτῷ μέλον τῶν ἐν θεάτρῳ πραγμάτων. ἐγὼ δ'
ἐμαυτοῦ σοι πείραν παρέχω, ὁποῖός τίς εἰμι τὴν
μνήμην ὑποκριτῆς, οὐδὲν ἀγγέλου τὰ ἄλλα τραγι-
κοῦ διαφέρων. ὥστε καὶ ἐνδεέστερόν τι δοκῶ
λέγειν, ἐκείνο μὲν ἔστω πρόχειρον, ὡς ἄμεινον
ἦν, καὶ ἄλλως² ὁ ποιητὴς ἴσως διεξῆι· ἐμὲ δὲ
καὶ ἐκσυρίττης, οὐ πάννυ τι λυπήσομαι.

¹ μακρὸν S, and two late codices: μικρὸν the other MSS.,
usually rendered "Back water a bit."

² ἦν καὶ ἄλλως MSS.; ἢ ὁ ἄγγελος Schwartz.

THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

A. Have done with your long prelude, you strange fellow ; begin at the beginning and tell me what he said. You irritate me more than a little with your beating about the bush.

B. You are right ! I must do so. But look here, my friend : you've seen bad actors in tragedy before now—yes, and in comedy too, I'll swear ? I mean the sort that are hissed and ruin pieces and finally get driven off the stage, though their plays are often good and have won a prize.

A. I know plenty of the sort. But what of it ?

B. I am afraid that, as you follow me, you may think that I present my lines ridiculously, hurrying through some of them regardless of metre, and sometimes even spoiling the very sense by my incapacity ; and that you may gradually be led to condemn the play itself. As far as I am concerned, I don't care at all ; but if the play shares my failure and comes to grief on my account, it will naturally hurt me more than a little. Please bear it in mind, then, all through the performance that the poet is not accountable to us for faults of this nature, and is sitting somewhere far away from the stage, completely unconcerned about what is going on in the theatre, while I am but giving you a chance to test my powers and see what sort of actor I am in point of memory ; in other respects my rôle is no more important than that of a messenger in tragedy. Therefore, in case I appear to be saying something rather poor, have the excuse to hand that it was better, and that the poet no doubt told it differently. As for myself, even if you hiss me off the stage, I shan't be hurt at all !

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Ὡς εὖ γε νῆ τὸν Ἑρμῆν καὶ κατὰ τὸν τῶν 10
 ῥητόρων νόμον πεπροοιμιάσται σοι· ἔοικας γοῦν
 κάκεῖνα προσθήσειν, ὥς δι' ὀλίγου τε ὑμῖν ἡ
 συνουσία ἐγένετο καὶ ὥς οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἦκες πρὸς τὸν
 λόγον παρεσκευασμένος καὶ ὥς ἄμεινον εἶχεν
 αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἀκούειν· σὺ γὰρ ὀλίγα καὶ
 ὅσα οἶόν τε ἦν, τυγχάνεις τῇ μνήμῃ συγκεκομισ-
 μένος. οὐ ταῦτ' ἔρεῖν ἔμελλες; οὐδὲν οὖν αὐτῶν
 ἔτι σοι δεῖ πρὸς ἐμέ· νόμισον δὲ τούτου γε ἕνεκα
 πάντα σοι προειρηθῆναι· ὥς ἐγὼ καὶ βοᾶν καὶ
 κροτεῖν ἔτοιμος. ἦν δὲ διαμέλλης, μνησικακήσω
 γε παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ ὀξύτατα συρίζομαι.

Καὶ ταῦτα μέν, ἃ σὺ διῆλθες, ἐβουλόμην ἂν 11
 εἰρησθαί μοι, κάκεῖνα δέ, ὅτι οὐχ ἑξῆς οὐδὲ ὥς
 ἐκείνος ἔλεγε, ῥῆσιν τινα περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ· πάννυ
 γὰρ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀδύνατον· οὐδ' αὖ ἐκείνῳ περιθεῖς
 τοὺς λόγους, μὴ καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι γένωμαι τοῖς
 ὑποκριταῖς ἐκείνοις ὅμοιος, οἳ πολλάκις ἢ
 Ἀγαμέμνωνος ἢ Κρέοντος ἢ καὶ Ἡρακλέους αὐτοῦ
 πρόσωπον ἀνειληφότες, χρυσίδας ἡμφιεσμένοι καὶ
 δεινὸν βλέποντες καὶ μέγα κεχηνότες μικρὸν
 φθέγγονται καὶ ἰσχνὸν καὶ γυναικῶδες καὶ τῆς
 Ἑκάβης ἢ Πολυξένης πολὺ ταπεινότερον. ἵν' οὖν
 μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλέγχωμαι πάννυ μείζον τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ
 κεφαλῆς προσωπεῖον περικείμενος καὶ τὴν σκευὴν
 καταισχύνων, ἀπὸ γυμνοῦ σοι βούλομαι τοῦμοῦ
 προσώπου προσλαλεῖν, ἵνα μὴ συγκατασπᾶσω
 που πεσὼν τὸν ἥρωα δν ὑποκρίνομαι.

Οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐ παύσεται τήμερον πρὸς με πολλῇ 12
 τῇ σκηνῇ καὶ τῇ τραγωδίᾳ χρώμενος.

THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

A. Hermes!¹ what a fine introduction you have made, just like a professor of public speaking! You intend, I am sure, to add that your conversation was short, that you didn't come prepared to speak, and that it would be better to hear him tell it himself, for really you have only carried in mind what little you could. Weren't you going to say that? Well, there is no longer any necessity for it on my account; consider your whole introduction finished as far as I am concerned, for I am ready to cheer and to clap. But if you keep shilly-shallying, I'll bear you a grudge all through the speech and will hiss right sharply.

B. Yes, I should have liked to say all that you mention, and also that I do not intend to quote him without a break and in his own words, in a long speech covering everything, for that would be quite beyond my powers; nor yet to quote him in the first person, for fear of making myself like the actors whom I mentioned in another way. Time and again when they have assumed the role of Agamemnon or Creon or even Heracles himself, costumed in cloth of gold, with fierce eyes and mouths wide agape, they speak in a voice that is small, thin, womanish, and far too poor for Hecuba or Polyxena. Therefore, to avoid being criticised like them for wearing a mask altogether too big for my head and for being a disgrace to my costume, I want to talk to you with my features exposed, so that the hero whose part I am taking may not be brought down with me if I stumble.

A. Will the man never stop talking so much stage and tragedy to me?

¹ Invoked as the god of orators.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Καὶ μὴν παύσομαί γε· πρὸς ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἤδη τρέφομαι. ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῶν λόγων ἔπαινος ἦν Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι φιλοσοφία καὶ πενία σύντροφοί εἰσιν καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἀστῶν οὔτε τῶν ξένων οὐδένα τέρπονται ὀρώντες, ὃς ἂν τρυφὴν εἰσάγειν εἰς αὐτοὺς βιάζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τις ἀφίκηται παρ' αὐτοὺς οὕτω διακείμενος, ἡρέμα τε μεθαρμόττουσι καὶ παραπαιδαγωγοῦσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς διαίτης μεθιστᾶσιν.

Ἐμέμνητο γοῦν τινος τῶν πολυχρύσων, ὃς ἐλθὼν 13 Ἀθήναζε μάλ' ἐπίσημος καὶ φορτικὸς ἀκολούθων ὄχλῳ καὶ ποικίλῃ ἐσθῇτι καὶ χρυσῷ αὐτὸς μὲν ὤετο ζηλωτὸς εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὥς ἂν εὐδαίμων ἀποβλέπεσθαι· τοῖς δ' ἄρα δυστυχεῖν ἐδόκει τὸ ἀνθρώπιον, καὶ παιδεύειν ἐπεχείρουν αὐτὸν οὐ πικρῶς οὐδ' ἀντικρὺς ἀπαγορεύοντες ἐν ἐλευθέρᾳ τῇ πόλει καθ' ὅντινα τρόπον βούλεται μὴ βιοῦν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ λουτροῖς ὑχληρὸς ἦν θλίβων τοῖς οἰκέταις καὶ στενοχωρῶν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ἡσυχῇ τις ἂν ὑπεφθέγγατο προσποιούμενος λανθάνειν, ὥσπερ οὐ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκείνουν ἀποτείνων, Δέδοικε μὴ παραπόληται μεταξὺ λουόμενος· καὶ μὴν εἰρήνῃ γε μακρὰ κατέχει τὸ βαλανεῖον· οὐδὲν οὖν δεῖ στρατοπέδου. ὁ δὲ ἀκούων αἰεί,¹ μεταξὺ ἐπαιδεύετο. τὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα τὴν ποικίλῃν καὶ τὰς πορφυρίδας ἐκείνας ἀπέδυσαν αὐτὸν ἀστείως πάνυ τὸ ἀνθηρὸν ἐπισκώπτοντες τῶν χρωμάτων, Ἐαρ ἤδη, λέγοντες, καί, Πόθεν ὁ ταῶς οὗτος; καί, Τάχα τῆς μητρὸς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ οὕτως

¹ αἰεί R. Helm : & ἦν MSS.

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B. Why, yes! I will stop, certainly, and will now turn to my subject. The talk began with praise of Greece and of the men of Athens, because Philosophy and Poverty have ever been their foster-brothers, and they do not look with pleasure on any man, be he citizen or stranger, who strives to introduce luxury among them, but if ever anyone comes to them in that frame of mind, they gradually correct him and lend a hand in his schooling and convert him to the simple life.

For example, he mentioned a millionaire who came to Athens, a very conspicuous and vulgar person with his crowd of attendants and his gay clothes and jewelry, and expected to be envied by all the Athenians and to be looked up to as a happy man. But they thought the creature unfortunate, and undertook to educate him, not in a harsh way, however, nor yet by directly forbidding him to live as he would in a free city. But when he made himself a nuisance at the athletic clubs and the baths by jostling and crowding passers with his retinue, someone or other would say in a low tone, pretending to be covert, as if he were not directing the remark at the man himself: "He is afraid of being murdered in his tub! Why, profound peace reigns in the baths; there is no need of an army, then!" And the man, who never failed to hear, got a bit of instruction in passing. His gay clothes and his purple gown they stripped from him very neatly by making fun of his flowery colours, saying, "Spring already?" "How did that peacock get here?" "Perhaps it's his mother's" and the like. His other vulgarities they turned into jest in the same way—

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ἀπέσκωπτον, ἡ τῶν δακτυλίων τὸ πλήθος ἡ τῆς κόμης τὸ περιέργον ἡ τῆς διαίτης τὸ ἀκόλαστον ὥστε κατὰ μικρὸν ἐσωφρονίσθη καὶ παρὰ πολὺν βελτίων ἀπῆλθε δημοσία πεπαιδευμένος.

“Ὅτι δ’ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται πενίαν ὁμολογοῦντες, 14
ἐμέμνητο πρὸς με φωνῆς τινος, ἣν ἀκοῦσαι πάντων ἔφη κοινῇ προεμένων ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Παναθηναίων ληφθέντα μὲν γάρ τινα τῶν πολιτῶν ἄγεσθαι παρὰ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην, ὅτι βαπτὸν ἔχων ἱμάτιον ἐθεώρει, τοὺς δὲ ἰδόντας ἐλεῆσαί τε καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνειπόντος, ὅτι παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἐποίησεν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἐσθῇτι θεώμενος, ἀναβοῆσαι μὲν φωνῇ πάντας ὥσπερ ἐσκεμμένους, συγγνώμην ἀπονέμειν αὐτῷ τοιαυτὰ γε ἀμπεχομένῳ· μὴ γὰρ ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἕτερα.

Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐπῆνει καὶ προσέτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὴν ἐκεῖ καὶ τῆς διαίτης τὸ ἀνεπίφθονον, ἡσυχίαν τε καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην, ἃ δὴ ἄφθονα παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐστίν. ἀπέφαινε γοῦν φιλοσοφία συνωδὸν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς τοιούτοις διατριβὴν καὶ καθαρὸν ἦθος φυλάξαι δυναμένην, σπουδαίῳ τε ἀνδρὶ καὶ πλούτου καταφρονεῖν πεπαιδευμένῳ καὶ τῷ πρὸς τὰ φύσει καλὰ ζῆν προαιρουμένῳ τὸν ἐκεῖ βίον μάλιστα ἡρμοσμένον. ὅστις δὲ πλούτου ἐρᾷ καὶ 15
χρυσῷ κεκήληται καὶ πορφύρᾳ καὶ δυναστείᾳ μετρεῖ τὸ εὐδαιμον, ἄγευστος μὲν ἐλευθερίας, ἀπείρατος δὲ παρρησίας, ἀθέατος δὲ ἀληθείας, κολακεία τὰ πάντα καὶ δουλεία σύντροφος, ἡ ὅστις ἡδονῇ πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπιτρέψας ταύτῃ μόνῃ λατρεύειν διέγνωκε, φίλος μὲν περιέργων τραπεζῶν, φίλος δὲ πότων καὶ ἀφροδισίων, ἀνάπλεως γοητείας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ ψευδολογίας,

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the number of his rings, the over-niceness of his hair, the extravagance of his life. So he was disciplined little by little, and went away much improved by the public education he had received.

To show that they are not ashamed to confess poverty, he mentioned to me a remark which he said he had heard everybody make with one accord at the Panathenaic games. One of the citizens had been arrested and brought before the director of the games he had a coloured cloak to see the show. Those who saw it were sorry for him and tried to beg him off, and when the herald proclaimed that he had broken the law by wearing such clothing at the games, they all cried out in one voice, as if by pre-arrangement, to excuse him for being in that dress, because, they said, he had no other.

Well, he praised all this, and also the freedom there and the blamelessness of their mode of living, their quiet and leisure; and these advantages they certainly have in plenty. He declared, for instance, that a life like theirs is in harmony with philosophy and can keep the character pure; so that a serious man who has been taught to despise wealth and elects to live for what is intrinsically good will find Athens exactly suited to him. But a man who loves wealth and is enthralled by gold and measures happiness by purple and power, who has not tasted liberty or tested free speech or contemplated truth, whose constant companions are flattery and servility; a man who has unreservedly committed his soul to pleasure and has resolved to serve none but her, fond of extravagant fare and fond of wine and

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ἢ ὅστις ἀκούων τέρπεται κρουμάτων τε καὶ
 τερετισμάτων καὶ διεφθορότων ἀσμάτων, τοῖς
 δὴ τοιοῦτοις πρέπειν τὴν ἐνταῦθα διατριβήν·
 μεσταὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν φιλτάτων πᾶσαι μὲν 16
 ἀγυιαί, πᾶσαι δὲ ἀγοραί· πάρεστι δὲ πάσαις
 πύλαις τὴν ἡδονὴν καταδέχεσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν δι'
 ὀφθαλμῶν, τοῦτο δὲ δι' ὠτων τε καὶ ῥινῶν, τοῦτο
 δὲ καὶ διὰ λαιμοῦ καὶ δι' ἀφροδισίων· ὑφ' ἧς δὴ
 ῥεούσης αἰενάῳ τε καὶ θολερῷ ῥεύματι πᾶσαι μὲν
 ἀνευρύνονται ὁδοί· συνεισέρχεται γὰρ μοιχεία καὶ
 φιλαργυρία καὶ ἐπιorkία καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο φῦλον
 τῶν ἡδονῶν, παρασύρεται δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποκλυζο-
 μένης πάντοθεν αἰδῶς καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ δικαιοσύνη·
 τῶν δὲ ἔρημος ὁ χώρος γενόμενος δίψης αἰεὶ
 πιμπράμενος¹ ἀνθεὶ πολλαῖς τε καὶ ἀγρίαις
 ἐπιθυμίαις.

Τοιαύτην ἀπέφαινε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοσούτων
 διδάσκαλον ἀγαθῶν. ἐγὼ γοῦν, ἔφη, ὅτε τὸ 17
 πρῶτον ἐπανήειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, πλησίον που
 γενόμενος ἐπιστήσας ἑμαυτὸν λόγον ἀπήτουν
 τῆς δεῦρο ἀφίξεως, ἐκεῖνα δὴ τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου
 λέγων·

τίπτ' αὐτ', ὦ δύστηνε, λιπὼν φάος ἡελίοιο,
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν
 ἐλευθερίαν, ἡλυθες, ὄφρα ἴδῃς τὸν ἐνταῦθα
 θόρυβον, συκοφάντας καὶ προσαγορεύσεις ὑπερη-
 φάνους καὶ δειπνα καὶ κόλακας καὶ μαιφονίας
 καὶ διαθηκῶν προσδοκίας καὶ φιλίας ἐπιπλάστους;
 ἢ τί καὶ πράξειν διέγνωκας μήτ' ἀπαλλάττεσθαι
 μήτε χρῆσθαι τοῖς καθεστῶσι δυνάμενος;

¹ πιμπράμενος A. M. H.: πιμπλάμενος MSS.

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women, full of trickery, deceit and falsehood ; a man who likes to hear twanging, fluting and emasculated singing—"Such folk," said he, "should live in Rome, for every street and every square is full of the things they cherish most,¹ and they can admit pleasure by every gate—by the eyes, by the ears and nostrils, by the throat and reins. Its ever-flowing, turbid stream widens every street ; it brings in adultery, avarice, perjury and the whole family of the vices, and sweeps the flooded soul bare of self-respect, virtue, and righteousness ; and then the ground which they have left a desert, ever parched with thirst, puts forth a rank, wild growth of lusts."

That was the character of the city, he declared, and those all the good things it taught. "For my part," said he, "when I first came back from Greece, on getting into the neighbourhood of Rome I stopped and asked myself why I had come here, repeating the well-known words of Homer²: 'Why left you, luckless man, the light of day'—Greece, to wit, and all that happiness and freedom—'and came to see' the hurly-burly here—informers, haughty greetings, dinners, flatterers, murders, legacy-hunting, feigned friendships? And what in the world do you intend to do, since you can neither go away nor do as the Romans do?"

¹ A reminiscence of Aratus (Phaenom. 2): "And every human street and every square is full of the presence of God."

² *Odys.* 11, 93.

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Οὕτω δὴ βουλευσάμενος καὶ καθάπερ ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν 18
 Ἑκτορα ὑπεξαγαγὼν ἐμαντὸν ἐκ βελών, φασίν,
 ἔκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἔκ θ' αἵματος ἔκ τε κυδοιμοῦ
 τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκουρεῖν εἰλόμην καὶ βίον τινὰ
 τοῦτον γυναικώδη καὶ ἄτολμον τοῖς πολλοῖς
 δοκοῦντα προτιθέμενος αὐτῇ φιλοσοφία καὶ Πλά-
 τωνι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ προσλαλῶ, καὶ καθίσας ἐμαντὸν
 ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ μυριάνδρῳ σφόδρα πον μετέωρος
 ἐπισκοπῶ τὰ γινόμενα, τοῦτο μὲν πολλὴν ψυχα-
 γωγίαν καὶ γέλωτα παρέχειν δυνάμενα, τοῦτο δὲ
 καὶ πείραν ἀνδρὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς βεβαίου λαβεῖν.

Εἰ γὰρ χρὴ καὶ κακῶν ἔπαινον εἰπεῖν, μὴ ὑπο- 19
 λάβης μείζον τι γυμνάσιον ἀρετῆς ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς
 δοκιμασίαν ἀληθεστέραν τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως καὶ
 τῆς ἐνταῦθα διατριβῆς· οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ἀντισχεῖν
 τοσαύταις μὲν ἐπιθυμίαις, τοσούτοις δὲ θεάμασί
 τε καὶ ἀκούσμασι πάντοθεν ἔλκουσι καὶ ἀντιλαμ-
 βανομένοις, ἀλλὰ ἀτεχνῶς δεῖ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά μιμη-
 σάμενον παραπλεῖν αὐτὰ μὴ δεδεμένον τῷ χεῖρε
 —δειλὸν γάρ—μηδὲ τὰ ὦτα κηρῷ φραξάμενον,
 ἀλλ' ἀκούοντα καὶ λελυμένον καὶ ἀληθῶς ὑπερή-
 φανον. ἔνεστι δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν θαυμάσαι παρα- 20
 θεωροῦντα τὴν τοσαύτην ἄνοιαν, καὶ τῶν τῆς
 τύχης ἀγαθῶν καταφρονεῖν ὀρώντα ὥσπερ ἐν
 σκηνῇ καὶ πολυπροσώπῳ δράματι τὸν μὲν ἐξ
 οἰκέτου δεσπότην προϊόντα, τὸν δ' ἀντὶ πλουσίου
 πέννητα, τὸν δὲ σατράπην ἐκ πέννητος ἢ βασιλέα,
 τὸν δὲ φίλον τούτου, τὸν δὲ ἐχθρόν, τὸν δὲ φυγάδα·
 τοῦτο γάρ τοι καὶ τὸ δεινότατόν ἐστιν, ὅτι καίτοι
 μαρτυρομένης τῆς Τύχης παίζειν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

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“After communing with myself in this vein and pulling myself out of bowshot as Zeus did Hector in Homer,¹

From out the slaughter, blood, and battle-din,

I decided to be a stay-at-home in future. Choosing thereby a sort of life which seems to most people womanish and spiritless, I converse with Plato, Philosophy and Truth, and seating myself, as it were, high up in a theatre full of untold thousands, I look down on what takes place, which is of a quality sometimes to afford amusement and laughter, sometimes to prove a man's true steadfastness.

“Indeed (if it is right to speak in praise of what is bad), don't suppose that there is any better school for virtue or any truer test of the soul than this city and the life here; it is no small matter to make a stand against so many desires, so many sights and sounds that lay rival hands on a man and pull him in every direction. One must simply imitate Odysseus and sail past them; not, however, with his hands bound (for that would be cowardly) nor with his ears stopped with wax, but with ears open and body free, and in a spirit of genuine contempt. Furthermore, one has cause to admire philosophy when he beholds so much folly, and to despise the gifts of fortune when he sees on the stage of life a play of many rôles, in which one man enters first as servant, then as master; another first as rich, then as poor; another now as beggar, now as nabob or king; another as So-and-so's friend, another as his enemy; another as an exile. And the strangest part of it all is that although Fortune attests that she makes light

¹ *Iliad* 11, 163.

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πράγματα καὶ ὁμολογούσης μηδὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι
βέβαιον, ὅμως ταῦθ' ὀσημέραι βλέποντες ὀρέγονται
καὶ πλούτου καὶ δυναστείας καὶ μεστοὶ περιίασι
πάντες οὐ γινομένων ἐλπιδων.

“Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔφην, ὅτι καὶ γελᾶν ἐν τοῖς γιγνο- 21
μένοις ἔνεστι καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖσθαι, τοῦτο ἤδη σοι
φράσω. πῶς γὰρ οὐ γελοῖοι μὲν πλουτοῦντες
αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς πορφυρίδας προφαίνοντες καὶ τοὺς
δακτυλίους προτείνοντες καὶ πολλὴν κατηγο-
ροῦντες ἀπειροκαλίαν, τὸ δὲ καινότατον, τοὺς
ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀλλοτρίᾳ φωνῇ προσαγορεύοντες,
ἀγαπᾶν ἀξιοῦντες, ὅτι μόνον αὐτοὺς προσέβλε-
ψαν, οἱ δὲ σεμνότεροι καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι περιμέ-
νοντες, οὐ πόρρωθεν οὐδ' ὥς Πέρσαις νόμος, ἀλλὰ
δεῖ προσελθόντα καὶ ὑποκύψαντα¹, τὴν ψυχὴν
ταπεινώσαντα καὶ τὸ πύθος αὐτῆς ἐμφανίσαντα
τῇ τοῦ σώματος ὁμοιότητι, τὸ στήθος ἢ τὴν δεξιὰν
καταφιλεῖν, ζηλωτὸν καὶ περίβλεπτον τοῖς μηδὲ
τούτου τυγχάνουσιν· ὁ δ' ἔστηκεν παρέχων ἑαυτὸν
εἰς πλείω χρόνον ἐξαπατῶμενον. ἐπαινῶ δὲ γε
ταύτης αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας, ὅτι μὴ καὶ τοῖς
στόμασιν ἡμᾶς προσίενται.

Πολὺ δὲ τούτων οἱ προσιόντες αὐτοὶ καὶ 22
θεραπεύοντες γελοϊότεροι, νυκτὸς μὲν ἐξανιστά-
μενοι μέσης, περιθέοντες δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν
καὶ πρὸς τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀποκλειόμενοι, κύνες καὶ
κόλακες καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκούειν ὑπομένοντες.
γέρας δὲ τῆς πικρᾶς ταύτης αὐτοῖς περιόδου τὸ
φορτικὸν ἐκείνο δεῖπνον καὶ πολλῶν αἴτιον συμ-

¹ ὑποκύψαντα Schwartz : ὑποκύψαντα καὶ πόρρωθεν MSS. : [καὶ
ὑποκύψαντα] Nilén.

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of human affairs and admits that there is no stability in them, and in spite of the fact that men see this demonstrated every day, they still yearn for wealth and power, and go about every one of them full of unrealised hopes.

“ But I have said that there is food for laughter and amusement in what goes on ; let me now explain it. To begin with, are not the rich ridiculous ? They display their purple gowns and show their rings and betray an unbounded lack of taste. Would you believe it ?—they make use of another man’s¹ voice in greeting people they meet, expecting them to be thankful for a glance and nothing more, while some, lordlier than the rest, even require obeisance to be made to them : not at long range, though, in the Persian style. No, you must go up, bow your head, humbling your soul and showing its feelings by carrying yourself to match them, and kiss the man’s breast or his hand, while those who are denied even this privilege envy and admire you ! And the man stands for hours and lets himself be duped ! At any rate there is one point in their inhumanity that I commend them for—they forbid us their lips !

“ Far more ridiculous, however, than the rich are those who visit them and pay them court. They get up at midnight, run all about the city, let servants bolt the doors in their faces and suffer themselves to be called dogs, toadies and similar names. By way of reward for this galling round of visits they get the much-talked-of dinner, a vulgar thing, the source of many evils. How much they eat there,

¹ The nomenclator : his proper office was merely to present the guests to his master, but in reality he often received them in his master’s stead.

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φορῶν, ἐν ᾧ πόσα μὲν ἐμφαγόντες, πόσα δὲ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμπιόντες, πόσα δὲ ὧν οὐκ ἐχρῆν ἀπολαλήσαντες ἢ μεμφόμενοι¹ τὸ τελευταῖον ἢ δυσφοροῦντες ἀπίασιν ἢ διαβάλλοντες τὸ δεῖπνον ἢ ὕβριν ἢ μικρολογίαν ἐγκαλοῦντες. πλήρεις δὲ αὐτῶν ἐμούντων οἱ στενωποὶ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς χαμαι-τυπείοις μαχομένων· καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν οἱ πλείονες αὐτῶν κατακλιθέντες ἰατροῖς παρέχουσιν ἀφορμὰς περιόδων· ἔνιοι μὲν γάρ, τὸ καινότατον, οὐδὲ νοσεῖν σχολάζουσιν.

Εγὼ μέντοι γε πολὺ τῶν κολακευομένων ἔξω- 23
λεστέρους τοὺς κόλακας ὑπέιληφα, καὶ σχεδὸν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις καθίστασθαι τῆς ὑπερηφανίας αἰτίους· ὅταν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν περιουσίαν θαυμάσωσιν καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἐπαινέσωσιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας ἔωθεν ἐμπλήσωσιν καὶ προσελθόντες ὥσπερ δεσπότας προσείπωσιν, τί καὶ φρονήσειν ἐκείνους εἰκὸς ἐστίν; εἰ δέ γε κοινῷ δόγματι κἂν πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀπέσχοντο τῆσδε τῆς ἐβελοδοουλείας, οὐκ ἂν οἶει τοῦναντίον αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τῶν πτωχῶν δεομένους τοὺς πλουσίους, μὴ ἀθέατον αὐτῶν μηδ' ἀμάρτυρον τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν καταλιπεῖν μηδ' ἀνόνητόν τε καὶ ἄχρηστον τῶν τραπεζῶν τὸ κάλλος καὶ τῶν οἰκῶν τὸ μέγεθος; οὐ γὰρ οὕτω τοῦ πλουτεῖν ἐρῶσιν ὥς τοῦ διὰ τὸ πλουτεῖν εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ² ἔχει, μηδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι περικαλλοῦς οἰκίας τῷ οἰκοῦντι μηδὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὰ θαυμάζοι. ἐχρῆν οὖν ταύτῃ καθαιρεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπευνώζειν τὴν δυναστείαν ἐπιτειχί-

¹ ἢ μεμφόμενοι MSS.: bracketed by Schwartz.

² δὴ Hemsterhuys: δὲ MSS.

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how much they drink that they do not want, and how much they say that should not have been said ! At last they go away either finding fault or nursing a grievance, either abusing the dinner or accusing the host of insolence and neglectfulness. They fill the side-streets, puking and fighting at the doors of brothels, and most of them go to bed by daylight and give the doctors a reason for making *their* rounds. Not all, though ; for some—would you believe it?—haven't even time to be ill !

“ For my part I hold that the toadies are far worse than the men they toady to, and that they alone are to blame for the arrogance of the others. When they admire their possessions, praise their plate, crowd their doorways in the early morning and go up and speak to them as a slave speaks to his master, how can you expect the rich to feel ? If by common consent they refrained but a short time from this voluntary servitude, don't you think that the tables would be turned, and that the rich would come to the doors of the poor and beg them not to leave their happiness unobserved and unattested and their beautiful tables and great houses unenjoyed and unused ? It is not so much being rich that they like as being congratulated on it. The fact is, of course, that the man who lives in a fine house gets no good of it, nor of his ivory and gold either, unless someone admires it all. What men ought to do, then, is to reduce and cheapen the rank of the rich in this way, erecting in the face of their wealth a

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σαντας τῷ πλούτῳ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν· νῦν δὲ λατρεύοντες εἰς ἀπόνοιαν ἄγουσιν.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄνδρας ἰδιώτας καὶ ἀναφανδὸν τὴν 24
ἀπαιδευσίαν ὁμολογοῦντας τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν,
μετριώτερον ἂν εἰκότως νομισθεῖη· τὸ δὲ καὶ τῶν
φιλοσοφεῖν προσποιουμένων πολλοὺς¹ πολλῷ
ἐτι τούτων γελοιώτερα δρᾶν, τοῦτ' ἤδη τὸ δεινό-
τατόν ἐστι. πῶς γὰρ οἶει τὴν ψυχὴν διατεθεῖσθαι
μοι, ὅταν ἴδω τούτων τινά, μάλιστα τῶν προβε-
βηκότων, ἀναμεμιγμένον κολάκων ὄχλῳ καὶ τῶν
ἐπ' ἀξίας τινὰ δορυφοροῦντα καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ
δεῖπνα παραγγέλλουσι κοινολογούμενον, ἐπι-
σημότερον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος
ὄντα καὶ φανερώτερον; καὶ ὃ μάλιστα ἀγανακτῶ,
ὅτι μὴ καὶ τὴν σκευὴν μεταλαμβάνουσι, τὰ ἄλλα
γε ὁμοίως ὑποκρινόμενοι τοῦ δράματος. ἅ μὲν 25
γὰρ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ἐργάζονται, τίνοι τῶν καλῶν
εἰκάσομεν; οὐκ ἐμφοροῦνται μὲν ἀπειροκαλώτερον,
μεθύσκονται δὲ φανερώτερον, ἐξανίστανται δὲ
πάντων ὕστατοι, πλείω δὲ ἀποφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων
ἀξιοῦσιν; οἱ δὲ ἀστειότεροι πολλάκις αὐτῶν
καὶ ἄσαι προήχθησαν.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν γελοῖα ἡγείτο· μάλιστα δὲ
ἐμέμνητο τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ φιλοσοφούντων καὶ τὴν
ἀρετὴν ὧνιον ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς προτιθέντων·
ἐργαστήρια γοῦν ἐκάλει καὶ καπηλεῖα τὰς τούτων
διατριβάς· ἡξίου γὰρ τὸν πλούτου καταφρονεῖν
διδάξοντα πρῶτον αὐτὸν παρέχειν ὑψηλότερον
λημμάτων. ἀμέλει καὶ πράττων ταῦτα διετέλει, οὐ 26
μόνον προῖκα τοῖς ἀξιοῦσι συνδιατρίβων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν καὶ πάσης περιουσίας κατα-

¹ πολλοὺς Cobet : not in MSS.

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breastwork of contempt. But as things are, they turn their heads with servility.

"That common men who unreservedly admit their want of culture should do such things might fairly be thought reasonable; but that many self-styled philosophers should act still more ridiculously than they—this is the surprising thing! How do you suppose I feel in spirit when I see one of them, especially if he be well on in years, among a crowd of toadies, at the heels of some Jack-in-office, in conference with the dispensers of his dinner-invitations? His dress only marks him out among the rest and makes him more conspicuous. What irritates me most is that they do not change their costume: certainly they are consistent play-actors in everything else. Take their conduct at dinners—to what ethical ideal are we to ascribe it? Do they not stuff themselves more vulgarly, get drunk more conspicuously, leave the table last of all, and expect to carry away more delicacies than anyone else? Some, more subtle than the rest, have often gone so far as to sing."

All this, he thought, was ridiculous: and he made special mention of people who cultivate philosophy for hire and put virtue on sale over a counter, as it were: indeed, he called the lecture-rooms of these men factories and bazaars. For he maintained that one who intends to teach contempt for wealth should first of all show that he is himself above gain. Certainly he used to put these principles into practice consistently, not only giving instruction without recompense to all who desired it, but helping the needy and holding all manner of super-

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φρονῶν, τοσούτου δέων ὀρέγεσθαι τῶν οὐδὲν προσ-
 ηκόντων, ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φθειρομένων
 ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν; ὅς γε καὶ ἀγρὸν οὐ πόρρω τῆς
 πόλεως κεκτημένος οὐδὲ ἐπιβῆναι αὐτοῦ πολλῶν
 ἐτῶν ἡξίωσεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ εἶναι
 διωμολόγει, ταῦτ' οἶμαι ὑπειληφώς, ὅτι τούτων
 φύσει μὲν οὐδενός ἐσμεν κύριοι, νόμφ δὲ καὶ διαδοχῇ
 τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀόριστον παραλαμβάνοντες
 ὀλιγοχρόνιοι δεσπότηαι νομιζόμεθα, κάπειδ' ἢ
 προθεσμία παρέλθῃ, τῆνικαὐτα παραλαβὼν ἄλλος
 ἀπολαύει τοῦ ὀνόματος.

Οὐ μικρὰ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκείνα παρέχει τοῖς ζηλοῦν
 ἐθέλουσι παραδείγματα, τῆς τροφῆς τὸ ἀπέριττον
 καὶ τῶν γυμνασίων τὸ σύμμετρον καὶ τοῦ προσ-
 ῶπου τὸ αἰδέσιμον καὶ τῆς ἐσθῆτος τὸ μέ-
 τριον, ἐφ' ἅπασιν δὲ τούτοις τῆς διανοίας τὸ
 ἡρμοσμένον καὶ τὸ ἡμερον τοῦ τρόπου. παρή- 27
 νει δὲ τοῖς συνοῦσι μὴτ' ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸ
 ἀγαθόν, ὅπερ τοὺς πολλοὺς ποιεῖν προθεσμίας
 ὀριζομένους ἑορτὰς ἢ πανηγύρεις, ὡς ἀπ' ἐκείνων
 ἀρξομένους τοῦ μὴ ψεύσασθαι καὶ τοῦ τὰ
 δέοντα ποιῆσαι· ἡξίου γὰρ ἀμέλλητον εἶναι
 τὴν πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὁρμὴν. δῆλος δὲ ἦν καὶ
 τῶν τοιούτων κατεγνώκως φιλοσόφων, οἱ ταύ-
 την ἀσκησιν ἀρετῆς ὑπελάμβανον, ἣν πολλαῖς
 ἀνάγκαις καὶ πόνοις τοὺς νέους ἀντέχειν κατα-
 γυμνάσωσιν, τοῦτο μὲν ψυχρολουτεῖν¹ οἱ πολλοὶ
 κελεύοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ μαστιγοῦντες, οἱ δὲ χαριέ-
 στεροι καὶ σιδήρῳ τὰς ἐπιφανείας αὐτῶν κατα-
 ξύοντες. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ χρῆναι πολὺ πρότερον ἐν 28

¹ ψυχρολουτεῖν E. Capps : οὐδεῖν (or οὐ δεῖν) MSS. : θυραυλεῖν Schwartz : ἀνυποδητεῖν vulg.

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fluity in contempt. So far was he from coveting the property of others that even when his own property was going to rack and ruin he did not concern himself about it. Although he had a farm not far from the city, he did not care to set foot on it for many years. More than this, he used to say that it was not his at all. His idea was, I take it, that we are not "owners" of any of these things by natural law, but that we take over the use of them for an indefinite period by custom and inheritance, and are considered their proprietors for a brief space; and when our allotted days of grace are past another takes them over and enjoys the title.

He likewise sets no mean example for those who care to imitate him in his simple diet, his moderate physical exercises, his earnest face, his plain clothes and above all, his well-balanced understanding and his kindly ways. He always advised his disciples not to postpone being good, as most people do, by setting themselves a limit in the form of a holiday or a festival, with the intention of beginning from that date to shun lies and do as they should; for he deemed that an inclination towards the higher life brooked no delay. He made no secret of his condemnation of the sort of philosophers who think it a course in virtue if they train the young to endure "full many pains and toils,"¹ the majority recommending cold baths, though some whip them, and still others, the more refined of their sort, scrape the surface of their skin with a knife-blade. It was his

¹ Evidently a quotation: the source is unknown.

ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ στέρρον τοῦτο καὶ ἀπαθὲς κατασκευάσαι, καὶ τὸν ἄριστα παιδεύειν ἀνθρώπους προαιρούμενον τοῦτο μὲν ψυχῆς, τοῦτο δὲ σώματος, τοῦτο δὲ ἡλικίας τε καὶ τῆς πρότερον ἀγωγῆς ἐστοχάσθαι, ἵνα μὴ τὰ παρὰ δύνάμιν ἐπιτάττων ἐλέγχηται· πολλοὺς γοῦν καὶ τελευτῶν ἔφασκεν οὕτως ἀλόγως ἐπιταθέντας· ἓνα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον, ὃς καὶ γευσάμενος τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις κακῶν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα λόγων ἀληθῶν ἐπήκουσεν, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγων ὥς αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ δῆλος ἦν ῥᾶον διακείμενος.

Ἡδὴ δὲ τούτων ἀποστὰς τῶν ἄλλων αὐθις 29
ἀνθρώπων ἐμέμνητο καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταραχὰς διεξήκει καὶ τὸν ὠθισμόν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ τὸν ἵπποδρομον καὶ τὰς τῶν ἡνιόχων εἰκόνας καὶ τὰ τῶν ἵππων ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς περὶ τούτων διαλόγους· πολλὴ γὰρ ὥς ἀληθῶς ἡ ἵππομανία καὶ πολλῶν ἤδη σπουδαίων εἶναι δοκούντων ἐπείληπται.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτέρου δράματος ἤπτετο τῶν 30
ἀμφὶ τὴν νέκυιάν τε καὶ διαθήκας καλινδουμένων, προστιθεὶς ὅτι μίαν φωνὴν οἱ Ῥωμαίων παῖδες ἀληθῆ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον προτενται, τὴν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις λέγων, ἵνα μὴ ἀπολαύσῃ τῆς σφετέρως ἀληθείας. ἃ δὲ καὶ μεταξὺ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ γελᾶν προήχθην, ὅτι καὶ συγκατορύττειν ἑαυτοῖς ἀξιούσι τὰς ἀμαθίας καὶ τὴν ἀναλγησίαν ἔγγραφον ὁμολογοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐσθῆτας ἑαυτοῖς

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opinion that this hardness and insensibility should be created rather in the souls of men, and that he who elects to give the best possible education ought to have an eye to soul, to body, and to age and previous training, that he may not subject himself to criticism on the score of setting his pupils tasks beyond their strength. Indeed, he asserted that many die as a result of strains so unreasonable. I myself saw one student who, after a taste of the tribulations in that camp, had made off without a backward glance as soon as he heard true doctrine, and had come to Nigrinus: he was clearly the better for it.

At length leaving the philosophers, he recurred to the rest of mankind, and told about the uproar of the city, the crowding, the theatres, the races, the statues of the drivers, the names of the horses, and the conversations in the streets about these matters. The craze for horses is really great, you know, and men with a name for earnestness have caught it in great numbers.

Next he touched upon another human comedy, played by the people who occupy themselves with life beyond the grave and with last wills, adding that sons of Rome speak the truth only once in their whole lives (meaning in their wills), in order that they may not reap the fruits of their truthfulness!¹ I could not help interrupting him with laughter when he said that they want to fill their graves with their follies and leave their stupidity on record, inasmuch as some of them leave instructions

¹ A famous instance is the case of Petronius, who expressed his opinion of Nero in his will and made the emperor his executor.

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κελεύοντες συγκαταφλέγεσθαι τῶν παρὰ τὸν βίον τιμίῳν, οἱ δὲ καὶ παραμένειν τινὰς οἰκέτας τοῖς τάφοις, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στέφειν τὰς στήλας ἀνθεσιν, εὐήθεις ἔτι καὶ παρὰ τὴν τελευτὴν διαμένοντες. εἰκάζειν οὖν ἡξίου, τί πέπρακται τούτοις παρὰ τὸν βίον, εἰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸν βίον ἐπισκῆπτουσι· τούτους γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς τὸ πολυτελὲς ὄψον ὠνουμένους καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις μετὰ κρόκων τε καὶ ἀρομάτων ἐκχέοντας, τοὺς μέσου χειμῶνος ἐμπιπλαμένους ῥόδων καὶ τὸ σπάνιον αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ καιρὸν ἀγαπῶντος, τῶν δ' ἐν καιρῷ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ὡς εὐτελῶν ὑπερηφανοῦντας, τούτους εἶναι¹ τοὺς καὶ τὰ μύρα πίνοντας· ὃ καὶ μάλιστα διέστυρεν αὐτῶν, ὅτι μὴδὲ χρῆσθαι ἴσασιν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύταις παρανομοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ὄρους συγχέουσι, πάντοθεν τῇ τρυφῇ παραδόντες αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς πατεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις τε καὶ κωμωδίαις λεγόμενον, ἤδη καὶ παρὰ θύραν εἰσβιαζόμενοι. σολοικισμὸν². οὖν ἐκάλει τοῦτο τῶν ἡδονῶν.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης καὶ κεῖνα ἔλεγεν, ἀτεχνῶς τοῦ Μώμου τὸν λόγον μιμησάμενος· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐμέμφετο τοῦ ταύρου τὸν δημιουργὸν θεὸν οὐ προθέντα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ κέρατα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡτιᾶτο τῶν στεφανουμένων, ὅτι μὴ ἴσασι τοῦ στεφάνου τὸν τόπον· εἰ γάρ τοι, ἔφη,

¹ τούτους εἶναι MSS.; bracketed by Schwartz.

² Isidorus defines a 'solecism' as 'plurimorum inter se verborum inconueniens compositio, sicut barbarismus unius verbi corruptio.' The point here is the incongruousness of such pleasures.

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that clothing be burned with them which they prized in life, others that servants stay by their tombs, and here and there another that his gravestone be wreathed with flowers. They remain foolish even on their deathbeds. He thought he could guess what they had done in life when they issued such injunctions touching the hereafter: "It is they," said he, "who buy expensive dainties and let wine flow freely at dinners in an atmosphere of saffron and perfumes, who glut themselves with roses in midwinter, loving their rarity and unseasonableness and despising what is seasonable and natural because of its cheapness; it is they who drink myrrh." And that was the point in which he criticised them especially, that they do not even know how to give play to their desires, but transgress in them and obliterate the boundary-lines on all sides, surrendering their souls to luxury to be trodden under foot, and as they say in tragedy and comedy, "forcing an entrance alongside the door."¹ These he called unidiomatic pleasures.

From the same standpoint he made a comment exactly like that of Momus. Just as the latter found fault with the god² who made the bull for not putting the horns in front of the eyes, so he censured those who wear garlands for not knowing where they should go. "If it is the scent of their violets

¹ The phrase does not occur in any of the extant plays. As Greek houses were generally of sun-dried brick, it was not difficult to dig through the wall, but only an inveterate 'wall-digger' (housebreaker) would choose that method of entry when the door was unlocked.

² Poseidon: see Hermotimus, 20.

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τῇ πνοῇ τῶν ἰῶν τε καὶ ῥόδων χαίρουσιν, ὑπὸ τῇ ῥινὶ μάλιστα ἔχρην αὐτοὺς στέφεσθαι παρ' αὐτὴν ὡς οἶόν τε τὴν ἀναπνοήν, ἔν' ὡς πλείστον ἀνέσπων τῆς ἡδονῆς.

Καὶ μὴν κακείνους διεγέλα τοὺς θαυμάσιόν 33
τινα τὴν σπουδὴν περὶ τὰ δεῖπνα ποιουμένους
χυμῶν τε ποικιλίαις καὶ πεμμάτων περιεργίαις·
καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ τούτους ἔφασκεν ὀλιγοχρονίου
τε καὶ βραχείας ἡδονῆς ἔρωτι πολλὰς πραγ-
ματείας ὑπομένειν· ἀπέφαινε γοῦν τεσσάρων
δακτύλων αὐτοῖς ἕνεκα πάντα πονεῖσθαι τὸν
πόνον, ἐφ' ὅσους ὁ μήκιστος ἀνθρώπου λαιμός
ἐστίν· οὔτε γὰρ πρὶν ἐμφαγεῖν, ἀπολαύειν τι
τῶν ἐωνημένων, οὔτε βρωθέντων ἡδίῳ γενέσθαι
τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολυτελεστέρων πλησμονήν· λοιπὸν
οὖν εἶναι τὴν ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ γιγνομένην ἡδονὴν
τοσοῦτων ὠνεῖσθαι χρημάτων. εἰκότα δὲ πᾶσχειν
ἔλεγεν αὐτοὺς ὑπ' ἀπαιδευσίας τὰς ἀληθεστέρας
ἡδονὰς ἀγνοοῦντας, ὧν ἀπασῶν φιλοσοφία χορηγός
ἐστίν τοις πονεῖν προαιρουμένοις.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις δρωμένων
πολλὰ μὲν διεξήκει, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπομένων, τὰς
ὑβρεις, τοὺς ἐπικειμένους τοῖς οἰκέταις καὶ μικροῦ
δεῖν ἐκφερομένους. ἐν δὲ τι καὶ μάλιστα μισεῖν
ἐφάκει, πολὺ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς βαλα-
νείοις ἐπιχωριάζον· προϊόντας γὰρ τινὰς τῶν
οἰκετῶν δεῖ βοᾶν καὶ παραγγέλλειν προορᾶσθαι
τοῖν ποδοῖν, ἣν ὑψηλὸν τι ἢ κοῖλον μέλλωσιν
ὑπερβαίνειν, καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκειν αὐτούς, τὸ
καινότατον, ὅτι βαδίζουσιν. δεινὸν οὖν ἐποιεῖτο,

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and roses that they like," he said, "they certainly ought to put their garlands under their noses, as close as may be to the intake of the breath, so as to inhale the greatest possible amount of pleasure."

Another thing, he ridiculed the men who devote such a surprising degree of energy to dinners in the effort to secure variety in flavours and new effects in pastry. He said that these underwent a great deal of inconvenience through their devotion to a brief and temporary pleasure. Indeed, he pointed out that all their trouble was taken for the sake of four finger-breadths, the extent of the longest human throat. "Before eating," said he, "they get no good out of what they have bought, and after eating, the sense of fulness is no more agreeable because it derives from expensive food ; it follows, then, that it is the pleasure of swallowing which has cost them so dear." And he said that it served them right for being uneducated and consequently unfamiliar with the truer pleasures, which are all dispensed by philosophy to those who elect a life of toil.

He had much to say about their behaviour in the baths—the number of their attendants, their offensive actions, and the fact that some of them are carried by servants almost as if they were corpses on their way to the graveyard. There is one practice, however, which he appeared to detest above all others, a wide-spread custom in the city and in the baths. It is the duty of certain servants, going in advance of their masters, to cry out and warn them to mind their footing when they are about to pass something high or low, thus reminding them, oddly enough, that they are walking ! He was indignant,

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εἰ στόματος μὲν ἀλλοτρίου δειπνοῦντες μὴ δέονται μηδὲ χειρῶν, μηδὲ τῶν ὧτων ἀκούοντες, ὀφθαλμῶν δὲ ὑγιαίνοντες ἀλλοτρίων δέονται προουφομένων καὶ ἀνέχονται φωνὰς ἀκούοντες δυστυχέσιω ἀνθρώποις πρεπούσας καὶ πεπηρωμένοις· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτὰ πάσχουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἡμέρας μέσης καὶ οἱ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιτετραμμένοι.

Ταῦτά τε καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα διελθὼν 35
κατέπαυσε τὸν λόγον. ἐγὼ δὲ τέως μὲν ἤκουον αὐτοῦ τεθηπῶς, μὴ σιωπήσῃ πεφοβημένος· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπαύσατο, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν Φαιάκων πάθος ἐπεπόνθειν· πολλὴν γὰρ δὴ χρόνον ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπέβλεπον κεκληλημένος· εἶτα πολλῇ συγχύσει καὶ ἰλίγγῳ κατειλημμένος τοῦτο μὲν ἰδρῶτι κατερρεόμην, τοῦτο δὲ φθέγξασθαι βουλόμενος ἐξέπιπτόν τε καὶ ἀνεκοπτόμην, καὶ ἡ τε φωνὴ ἐξέλειπε καὶ ἡ γλῶττα διημάρτανε, καὶ τέλος ἐδάκρυον ἀπορούμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς οὐδ' ὥς ἔτυχεν ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος καθίκετο, βαθεῖα δὲ καὶ καίριος ἡ πληγὴ ἐγένετο, καὶ μάλα εὐστόχως ἐνεχθεὶς ὁ λόγος αὐτήν, εἰ οἶόν τε εἰπεῖν, διέκοψε τὴν ψυχὴν· εἰ γὰρ τι δεῖ καμὲ ἤδη φιλοσόφων προσάψασθαι λόγων, ὧδε περὶ τούτων ὑπέιληφα· 36
δοκεῖ μοι ἀνδρὸς εὐφροῦς ψυχὴ μάλα σκοπῶ
τινι ἀπαλῶ προσεικέναι. τοξόται δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν
ἀνὰ τὸν βίον καὶ μεστοὶ τὰς φαρέτρας ποικίλων τε
καὶ παντοδαπῶν λόγων, οὐ μὴν πάντες εὐστοχα
τοξεύουσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν σφόδρα τὰς νευρὰς
ἐπιτείναντες ἐντονώτερον τοῦ δέοντος ἀφιάσιν· καὶ
ἄπτονται μὲν καὶ οὗτοι¹, τὰ δὲ βέλη αὐτῶν οὐ
μένει ἐν τῷ σκοπῷ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς σφοδρότητος

¹ οὔτοι, Sommerbrodt; οὔτοι τῆς ὁδοῦ MSS.

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you see, that although they do not need the mouths or the hands of others in eating or the ears of others in hearing, they need the eyes of others to see their way in spite of the soundness of their own, and suffer themselves to be given directions fit only for unfortunates and blind men. "Why," said he, "this is actually done in public squares at midday, even to governors of cities!"

When he had said this and much more of the same sort, he ended his talk. Until then I had listened to him in awe, fearing that he would cease. When he stopped, I felt like the Phaeacians of old,¹ for I stared at him a long time spellbound. Afterwards, in a great fit of confusion and giddiness, I dripped with sweat, I stumbled and stuck in the endeavour to speak, my voice failed, my tongue faltered, and finally I began to cry in embarrassment; for the effect he produced in me was not superficial or casual. My wound was deep and vital, and his words, shot with great accuracy, clove, if I may say so, my very soul in twain. For if I too may now adopt the language of a philosopher, my conception of the matter is that the soul of a well-endowed man resembles a very tender target. Many bowmen, their quivers full of words of all sorts and kinds, shoot at it during life, but not with success in every case. Some draw to the head and let fly harder than they should: though they hit the target, their arrows do not stick in it, but owing to

¹ *Odys.* 11, 333.

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διελθόντα καὶ παροδεύσαντα κεχηγνύϊαν μόνον τῷ
 τραύματι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέλιπεν. ἄλλοι δὲ πάλιν
 τούτοις ὑπεναντίως· ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀσθενείας τε καὶ
 ἀτονίας οὐδὲ ἐφικνεῖται τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς ἄχρι πρὸς
 τὸν σκοπόν, ἀλλ' ἐκλυθέντα καταπίπτει πολλάκις
 ἐκ μέσης τῆς ὁδοῦ· ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ ἐφίκεται, ἄκρον
 μὲν ἐπιλίγδην ἅπτεται, βαθεῖαν δὲ οὐκ ἐργάζεται
 πληγὴν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπ' ἰσχυρᾶς ἐμβολῆς ἀπεστέλ-
 λετο. ὅστις δὲ ἀγαθὸς τοξότης καὶ τούτῳ 37
 ὁμοιος, πρῶτον μὲν ἀκριβῶς ὄψεται τὸν σκοπόν,
 εἰ μὴ σφόδρα μαλακός, εἰ μὴ στερρότερος τοῦ
 βέλους. γίνονται γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄτρωτοι σκοποί.
 ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταῦτα ἴδῃ, τῆνικαῦτα χρίσας τὸ βέλος
 οὔτε ἰῶ, καθάπερ τὰ Σκυθῶν χρίεται, οὔτε ὀπῶ,
 καθάπερ τὰ Κουρήτων, ἀλλ' ἡρέμα δηκτικῶ τε
 καὶ γλυκεῖ φαρμάκῳ, τούτῳ χρίσας εὐτέχνως¹
 ἐτόξευσε· τὸ δὲ ἐνεχθὲν εὖ μάλα ἐντόνως καὶ
 διακόψαν ἄχρι τοῦ διελθεῖν μένει τε καὶ πολὺ τοῦ
 φαρμάκου ἀφίησιν, ὃ δὴ σκιδνάμενον ὅλην ἐν
 κύκλῳ τὴν ψυχὴν περιέρχεται. τοῦτό τοι καὶ
 ἡδοναὶ καὶ δακρύουσι μεταξὺ ἀκούοντες, ὅπερ καὶ
 αὐτὸς ἔπασχον, ἡσυχῇ ἄρα τοῦ φαρμάκου τὴν
 ψυχὴν περιθέοντος. ἐπῆει δ' οὖν μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν
 τὸ ἔπος ἐκεῖνο λέγειν· βάλλ' οὕτως, αἱ κέν τι
 φόως γένηται. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τοῦ Φρυγίου αὐλοῦ
 ἀκούοντες οὐ πάντες μαίνονται, ἀλλ' ὅποσοι αὐτῶν
 τῇ Ῥέα λαμβάνονται, οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέλος
 ὑπομιμνήσκονται τοῦ πάθους, οὕτω δὴ καὶ
 φιλοσόφων ἀκούοντες οὐ πάντες ἔνθεοι καὶ
 τραυματαῖι ἀπίασιν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὑπὴν τι ἐν τῇ φύσει
 φιλοσοφίας συγγενές.

¹ εὐτέχνως Sommerbrodt : ἀτεχνῶς MSS.

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their momentum go through and continue their flight, leaving only a gaping wound in the soul. Others, again, do the opposite; themselves too weak, their bows too slack, the arrows do not even carry to the target as a rule, but often fall spent at half the distance; and if ever they do carry, they strike "with a mere fret o' the skin,"¹ and do not make a deep wound, as they were not sped with a strong pull. But a good bowman like Nigrinus first of all scans the target closely for fear that it may be either very soft or too hard for his arrow—for of course there are impenetrable targets. When he is clear on this point, he dips his arrow, not in venom like those of the Scythians nor in vegetable poison like those of the Curetes, but in a sweet, gently-working drug, and then shoots with skill. The arrow, driven by just the right amount of force, penetrates to the point of passing through, and then sticks fast and gives off a quantity of the drug, which naturally spreads and completely pervades the soul. That is why people laugh and cry as they listen, as I did—of course the drug was quietly circulating in my soul. I could not help quoting him the well-known line: "Shoot thus, if so thou mayest prove a salvation!"² Not everyone who hears the Phrygian flute goes frantic, but only those who are possessed of Rhea and are put in mind of their condition by the music. In like manner, naturally, not all who listen to philosophers go away enraptured and wounded, but only those who previously had in their nature some secret bond of kinship with philosophy.

¹ *Iliad* 17, 599.

² *Iliad* 8, 282.

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Ὡς σεμνὰ καὶ θαυμάσια καὶ θεϊά γε, ὦ 38
 ἑταῖρε, διελήλυθας, ἐλελήθεις δέ με πολλῆς ὡς
 ἀληθῶς τῆς ἀμβροσίας καὶ τοῦ λωτοῦ κεκορεσ-
 μένος· ὥστε καὶ μεταξὺ σοῦ λέγοντος ἔπασχόν τι
 ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ παυσαμένου ἄχθομαι καὶ ἵνα δὴ
 καὶ κατὰ σέ εἴπω, τέτρωμαι· καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης·
 οἶσθα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῶν κυνῶν τῶν λυσ-
 σώντων δηχθέντες οὐκ αὐτοὶ μόνοι λυσσῶσιν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τινες ἑτέρους¹ ἐν τῇ μανίᾳ τὸ αὐτὸ
 τοῦτο διαθῶσιν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔκφρονες γίνονται·
 συµμεταβαίνει γάρ τι τοῦ πάθους ἅμα τῷ δῆγματι
 καὶ πολυγονεῖται ἢ νόσος καὶ πολλὴ γίγνεται τῆς
 μανίας διαδοχή.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν μανίαν² ὁμολογεῖς ;

Πάνν μὲν οὖν, καὶ προσέτι δέομαί γέ σου κοινήν
 τινα τὴν θεραπείαν ἐπινοεῖν.

Τὸ τοῦ ἄρα Τηλέφου ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν.

Ποῖον αὖ λέγεις ;

Ἐπὶ τὸν τρώσαντα ἐλθόντας ἰᾶσθαι παρα-
 καλεῖν.

¹ ἑτέρους Schmieder: ἑτέρους καὶ αὐτοὶ MSS.

² μανίαν A.M.H.: ἐρᾶν MSS.

THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

A. What a noble, marvellous,—yes, divine tale you have told, my dear fellow! I did not realise it, but you certainly were chock-full of your ambrosia and your lotus! The consequence is that as you talked I felt something like a change of heart, and now that you have stopped I am put out: to speak in your own style, I am wounded. And no wonder! for you know that people bitten by mad dogs not only go mad themselves, but if in their fury they treat others as the dogs treated them, the others take leave of their senses too. Something of the affection is transmitted with the bite; the disease multiplies, and there is a great run of madness.

B. Then you admit your madness?

A. Why, certainly; and more than that, I ask you to think out some course of treatment for us both.

B. We must do as Telephus did, I suppose.

A. What's your meaning now?

B. Go to the man who inflicted the wound and beg him to heal us!¹

¹ Telephus had been grievously wounded by Achilles. Acting on the advice of the oracle at Delphi: "He who hurt will heal you" (*ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται*), he applied to Achilles for relief, and was at last cured with the rust of his spear.

DEMONAX

All that we know of Demonax derives from this essay, except for a few sayings elsewhere attributed to him. The authenticity of the essay has been repeatedly questioned, but should not be made to depend on the critic's opinion of Demonax's jokes, for—to paraphrase Lucian—we do not need a George Meredith to tell us that the flavour of a joke grows weak with age.

ΔΗΜΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ ΒΙΟΣ

Ἐμελλεν ἄρα μηδὲ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίος τὸ 1
 παντάπασιν ἄμοιρος ἔσεσθαι ἀνδρῶν λόγου καὶ
 μνήμης ἀξίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώματος ἀρετὴν ὑπερφυᾶ
 καὶ γνώμην ἄκρως φιλόσοφον ἐκφαίνειν.¹ λέγω δὲ
 εἰς τε τὸν Βοιωτίου Σώστρατον ἀναφέρων, ὃν
 Ἡρακλέα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκάλουν καὶ ᾤοντο εἶναι,
 καὶ μάλιστα εἰς Δημώνακτα τὸν φιλόσοφον, οὗς
 καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸς καὶ ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασα, θατέρῳ δὲ τῷ
 Δημώνακτι καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον συνεγενόμεν. περὶ
 μὲν οὖν Σωστράτου ἐν ἄλλῃ βιβλίῳ γέγραπται
 μοι καὶ δεδήλωται μέγεθός τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰσχύος
 ὑπερβολὴ καὶ ἡ ὑπαιθρος ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ
 δίαίτα καὶ ἡ ἐπίπονος εὐνὴ καὶ τροφαὶ ὄρειοι καὶ
 ἔργα οὐκ ἀπὸ δα τοῦ ὀνόματος ὅσα² ἢ ληστὰς
 αἴρων ἔπραξεν ἢ ὁδοποιῶν τὰ ἄβατα ἢ γεφυρῶν
 τὰ δύσπορα. περὶ δὲ Δημώνακτος ἤδη δίκαιον λέ- 2
 γειν ἀμφοῖν ἔνεκα, ὥς ἐκεῖνός τε διὰ μνήμης εἴη τοῖς
 ἀρίστοις τό γε κατ' ἐμὲ καὶ οἱ γενναιότατοι τῶν
 νέων καὶ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὁρμῶντες ἔχοιεν μὴ
 πρὸς τὰ ἀρχαῖα μόνα τῶν παραδειγμάτων σφᾶς
 αὐτοὺς ῥυθμίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου βίου
 κανόνα προτίθεσθαι καὶ ζηλοῦν ἐκείνον ἀριστον ὧν
 οἶδα ἐγὼ φιλοσόφων γενόμενον.

¹ ἐκφαίνειν MSS. : ἐκφανεῖν Cobet.

² ὅσα K. Schwartz : καὶ ὅσα MSS.

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It was on the cards, it seems, that our modern world should not be altogether destitute of noteworthy and memorable men, but should produce enormous physical prowess and a highly philosophic mind. I speak with reference to the Boeotian Sostratus, whom the Greeks called Heracles and believed to be that hero, and especially to Demonax, the philosopher. Both these men I saw myself, and saw with wonderment: and under one of them, Demonax, I was long a student. I have written about Sostratus elsewhere,¹ and have described his size and excessive strength, his open-air life on Parnassus, his bed that was no bed of ease, his mountain fare and his deeds (not inconsistent with his name²) achieved in the way of slaying robbers, making roads in untravelled country and bridging places hard to pass. It is now fitting to tell of Demonax for two reasons—that he may be retained in memory by men of culture as far as I can bring it about, and that young men of good instincts who aspire to philosophy may not have to shape themselves by ancient precedents alone, but may be able to set themselves a pattern from our modern world and to copy that man, the best of all the philosophers whom I know about.

¹ The treatise is lost.

² The nickname Heracles.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος Κύπριος, οὐ τῶν ἀφανῶν 3
 ὅσα εἰς ἀξίωμα πολιτικὸν καὶ κτῆσιν. οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τούτων ὑπεράνω γενόμενος καὶ
 ἀξιώσας ἑαυτὸν τῶν καλλίστων πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν
 ὥρμησεν οὐκ Ἀγαθοβούλου μὰ Δί' οὐδὲ Δημη-
 τρίου πρὸ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ Ἐπικτήτου ἐπεχειράντων,
 ἀλλὰ πᾶσι μὲν συνεγένετο τούτοις καὶ ἔτι Τιμο-
 κράτει τῷ Ἡρακλεώτῃ σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ φωνήν τε καὶ
 γνώμην μάλιστα κεκοσμημένῳ· ἀλλ' ὁ γε Δημῶναξ
 οὐχ ὑπὸ τούτων τινός, ὡς ἔφην, παρακληθείς, ἀλλ'
 ὑπ' οἰκείας πρὸς τὰ καλὰ ὁρμῆς καὶ ἐμφύτου
 πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἔρωτος ἐκ παίδων εὐθύς κεκινη-
 μένος ὑπερεῖδεν μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀγαθῶν
 ἀπάντων, ὅλον δὲ παραδούς ἑαυτὸν ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ
 παρρησίᾳ διετέλεσεν αὐτός τε ὀρθῶ καὶ ὑγιεῖ καὶ
 ἀνεπιλήπτῳ βίῳ χρώμενος καὶ τοῖς ὁρώσι καὶ
 ἀκούουσι παράδειγμα παρέχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην
 καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ μὴν 4
 ἀνίπτοις γε ποσὶν, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, πρὸς ταῦτα
 ἤξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιηταῖς σύντροφος ἐγένετο καὶ
 τῶν πλείστων ἐμέμνητο καὶ λέγειν ἤσκητο καὶ
 τὰς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ προαιρέσεις οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγον
 οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἄκρῳ τῷ δακτύλῳ
 ἀψάμενος ἠπίστατο, καὶ τὸ σῶμα δὲ ἐγεγύμναστο
 καὶ πρὸς καρτερίαν διεπεπόνητο, καὶ τὸ ὅλον
 ἐμεμελήκει αὐτῷ μηδενὸς ἄλλου προσδεᾶ εἶναι·
 ὥστε ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔμαθεν οὐκέτι ἑαυτῷ διαρκῶν, ἐκὼν
 ἀπῆλθε τοῦ βίου πολὺν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγον τοῖς
 ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταλιπών.

Φιλοσοφίας δὲ εἶδος οὐχ ἓν ἀποτεμόμενος, 5
 ἀλλὰ πολλὰς ἐς ταὐτὸ καταμίξας οὐ πάνυ τι

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He was a Cypriote by birth, and not of common stock as regards civic rank and property. Nevertheless, rising above all this and thinking that he deserved the best that life offers, he aspired to philosophy. It was not at the instigation of Agathobulus or his predecessor Demetrius or Epictetus, though he studied with all these men and with Timocrates of Heraclia besides, a wise man of great sublimity in thought as well as in language. As I was saying, however, Demonax was not enlisted in the cause by any of these men, but even from his boyhood felt the stirring of an individual impulse toward the higher life and an inborn love for philosophy, so that he despised all that men count good, and, committing himself unreservedly to liberty and free-speech, was steadfast in leading a straight, sane, irreproachable life and in setting an example to all who saw and heard him by his good judgment and the honesty of his philosophy. You must not conceive, however, that he rushed into these matters with unwashen feet, as the saying goes: he was brought up on the poets and knew most of them by heart, he was a practised speaker, his acquaintance with the schools of philosophy was not secured either in a short time or (to quote the proverb) "with the tip of his finger," he had trained his body and hardened it for endurance and in general he had made it his aim to require nothing from anyone else. Consequently, when he found out that he was no longer sufficient unto himself, he voluntarily took his departure from life, leaving behind him a great reputation among Greeks of culture.

He did not mark out for himself a single form of philosophy but combined many of them, and never

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ἐξέφαινε τίνι αὐτῶν ἔχαιρεν· ἑώκει δὲ τῷ Σωκράτει
 μᾶλλον ὤκειώσθαι, εἰ καὶ τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῇ τοῦ
 βίου ῥαστώνῃ τὸν Σινωπέα ζηλοῦν ἔδοξεν, οὐ
 παραχαράττων τὰ εἰς τὴν δίαιταν, ὡς θαυμάζοιτο
 καὶ ἀποβλέποιτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων, ἀλλ'
 ὁμοδίαιτος ἅπασι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος¹ ὢν καὶ οὐδ' ἐπ'
 ὀλίγον τύφῳ κάτοχος συνῆν καὶ ξυνεπολιτεύετο,
 τὴν μὲν τοῦ Σωκράτους εἰρωνείαν οὐ προσιέμενος, 6
 χάριτος δὲ Ἀττικῆς μεστὰς ἀποφαίνων τὰς συνου-
 σίας, ὡς τοὺς προσομιλήσαντας ἀπιέναι. μήτε
 καταφρονήσαντας ὡς ἀγεννοὺς μήτε τὸ σκυθρωπὸν
 τῶν ἐπιτιμήσεων ἀποφεύγοντας, παντοίους δὲ ὑπ'
 εὐφροσύνης γενομένους καὶ κοσμιωτέρους παρὰ
 πολὺ καὶ φαιδρωτέρους καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εὐέλ-
 πιδας. οὐδεπώποτε γοῦν ὤφθη κεκραγὼς ἢ 7
 ὑπερδιατεινόμενος ἢ ἀγανακτῶν, οὐδ' εἰ ἐπιτιμᾶν τῷ
 δέοι, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἀμαρτημάτων καθήπτετο, τοῖς
 δὲ ἀμαρτάνουσι συνεγίνωσκεν, καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα
 παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἡξίου λαμβάνειν τὰ μὲν νοσή-
 ματα ἰωμένων, ὀργῇ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς νοσοῦντας οὐ
 χρωμένων· ἡγείτο γὰρ ἀνθρώπου μὲν εἶναι τὸ
 ἀμαρτάνειν, θεοῦ δὲ ἢ ἀνδρὸς ἰσοθέου τὸ πταισ-
 θέντα ἐπανορθοῦν.

Τοιούτῳ δὴ βίῳ χρώμενος εἰς ἑαυτὸν μὲν 8
 οὐδενὸς ἔδειτο, φίλοις δὲ συνέπραττε τὰ εἰκότα,
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐτυχεῖν δοκοῦντας αὐτῶν ὑπερίμνη-
 σκεν ὡς ἐπ' ὀλιγοχρονίοις τοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς
 ἐπαιρομένους, τοὺς δὲ ἢ πενίαν ὀδυρομένους ἢ
 φυγὴν δυσχεραίνοντας ἢ γῆρας ἢ νόσον αἰτιω-
 μένους σὺν γέλωτι παρεμυθεῖτο, οὐχ ὀρώντας ὅτι
 μετὰ μικρὸν αὐτοῖς παύσεται μὲν τὰ ἀνιώντα,

¹ ὁμοτράπεζος Nilén : πεζὸς MSS.

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would quite reveal which one he favoured. Probably he had most in common with Socrates, although he seemed to follow the man of Sinope¹ in dress and in easy-going ways. He did not, however, alter the details of his life in order to gain the wonder and attract the gaze of men he met, but led the same life and ate the same food as everyone else, was not in the least subject to pride, and played his part in society and politics. He did not cultivate the irony of Socrates; his conversations were full of Attic charm, so that his visitors, on going away, did not feel contempt for him because he was ill-bred or aversion to his criticisms because they were gloomy, but were beside themselves for joy and were far better, happier and more hopeful of the future than when they came. He never was known to make an uproar or excite himself or get angry, even if he had to rebuke someone; though he assailed sins, he forgave sinners, thinking that one should pattern after doctors, who heal sicknesses but feel no anger at the sick. He considered that it is human to err, divine or all but divine to set the fallen on their feet.

Leading such a life, he wanted nothing for himself, but helped his friends in a reasonable way. Some of them, who were seemingly favoured by fortune, he reminded that they were elated over imaginary blessings of brief span. Others, who were bewailing poverty, fretting at exile or finding fault with old age or sickness, he laughingly consoled, saying that they failed to see that after a little while they would have surcease of worries and would find

¹ Diogenes.

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λήθη δέ τις ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν καὶ ἐλευθερία
μακρὰ πάντας ἐν ὀλίγῳ καταλήφεται. ἔμελεν δὲ 9
αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδελφούς στασιάζοντας διαλλάττειν καὶ
γυναιξὶ πρὸς τοὺς γεγαμηκότας εἰρήνην πρυτα-
νεύειν· καὶ πού καὶ δήμοις ταραττομένοις ἐμμελῶς
διελέχθη καὶ τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν ἔπεισεν
ὑπουργεῖν τῇ πατρίδι τὰ μέτρια.

Τοιοῦτός τις ἦν ὁ τρόπος τῆς φιλοσοφίας
αὐτοῦ, πρᾶος καὶ ἡμερος καὶ φαιδρός· μόνον 10
αὐτὸν ἡνία φίλου νόσος ἢ θάνατος, ὥς ἂν καὶ τὸ
μέγιστον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν τὴν φιλίαν
ἡγούμενον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φίλος μὲν ἦν ἅπασιν καὶ
οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντινα οὐκ οἰκείον ἐνόμιζεν, ἀνθρωπὸν
γε ὄντα, πλέον δὲ ἢ ἔλαττον ἔχαιρε συνῶν ἐνίοις
αὐτῶν, μόνοις ἐξιστάμενος ὅποσοι ἂν ἐδόκουν
αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τὴν τῆς θεραπείας ἐλπίδα διαμαρτά-
νειν. καὶ πάντα ταῦτα μετὰ Χαρίτων καὶ Ἀφρο-
δίτης αὐτῆς ἔπραττέν τε καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὥς αἰεὶ, τὸ
κωμικὸν ἐκείνο, τὴν πειθῶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτοῦ
ἐπικαθῆσθαι.

Τοιγαροῦν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὃ τε σύμπας δῆμος 11
καὶ οἱ ἐν τέλει ὑπερφυῶς ἐθαύμαζον αὐτὸν καὶ
διετέλουν ὥς τινα τῶν κρειττόνων προσβλέποντες.
καίτοι ἐν ἀρχῇ προσέκρουε τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῶν
καὶ μῖσος οὐ μείον τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ¹ παρὰ τοῖς πλή-
θεσιν ἐκτῆσατο ἐπὶ τε τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ ἐλευ-
θερίᾳ, καὶ τινες ἐπ' αὐτὸν συνέστησαν Ἄνυτοι
καὶ Μέλητοι τὰ αὐτὰ κατηγοροῦντες ἅπερ κακέι-
νου οἱ τότε, ὅτι οὔτε θύων ὥφθη πώποτε οὔτε
ἐμνήθη μόνος ἀπάντων ταῖς Ἑλευσινίαις· πρὸς

¹ πρὸ αὐτοῦ A.M.H.: not in MSS.

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oblivion of their fortunes, good and bad, and lasting liberty. He made it his business also to reconcile brothers at variance and to make terms of peace between wives and husbands. On occasion, he has talked reason to excited mobs, and has usually persuaded them to serve their country in a temperate spirit.

Such was the character of his philosophy—kind, gentle and cheerful. The only thing which distressed him was the illness or death of a friend, for he considered friendship the greatest of human blessings. For this reason he was everyone's friend, and there was no human being whom he did not include in his affections, though he liked the society of some better than that of others. He held aloof only from those who seemed to him to be involved in sin beyond hope of cure. And in all this, his every word and deed was smiled on by the Graces and by Aphrodite, even; so that, to quote the comedian, "persuasion perched upon his lips."¹

Hence all Athens, high and low, admired him enormously and always viewed him as a superior being. Yet in office he ran counter to public opinion and won from the masses quite as much hatred as his prototype² by his freedom of speech and action. He too had his Anytus and his Meletus who combined against him and brought the same charges that their predecessors brought against Socrates, asserting that he had never been known to sacrifice and was the only man in the community uninitiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. In reply to this, with right good

¹ Eupolis, quoted in the note on "Nigrinus" 7.

² Socrates.

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ἄπερ ἀνδρείως μάλα στεφανωσάμενος καὶ καθαρὸν ἱμάτιον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὰ μὲν ἐμμελῶς, τὰ δὲ καὶ τραχύτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἀπελογήσατο· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ τεθυκέναι πώποτε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, Μὴ θαυμάσητε, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ μὴ πρότερον αὐτῇ ἔθυσα, οὐδὲν γὰρ δεῖσθαι αὐτὴν τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ θυσιῶν ὑπελάμβανον. πρὸς δὲ θάτερον, τὸ τῶν μυστηρίων, ταύτην ἔφη ἔχειν αἰτίαν τοῦ μὴ κοινωνῆσαι σφίσι τῆς τελετῆς, ὅτι, ἂν τε φαῦλα ἢ τὰ μυστήρια, οὐ σιωπήσεται πρὸς τοὺς μηδέπω μεμνημένους, ἀλλ' ἀποτρέψει αὐτοὺς τῶν ὀργίων, ἂν τε καλὰ, πᾶσιν αὐτὰ ἐξαγορεύσει ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας· ὥστε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤδη λίθους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν ἔχοντας πράους αὐτῷ καὶ ἴλεως γενέσθαι αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἀρξαμένους τιμᾶν καὶ αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα θαυμάζειν, καίτοι εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς λόγων τραχυτέρῳ ἐχρήσατο τῷ προοιμίῳ. Ἄνδρες γὰρ ἔφη Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐμὲ μὲν ὀρώντες ἐστεφανωμένον ὑμεῖς ἤδη καμὲ καταθύσατε, τὸ γὰρ πρότερον οὐκ ἐκαλλιερήσατε.

Βούλομαι δὲ ἔνια παραθέσθαι τῶν εὐστόχως 12
τε ἅμα καὶ ἀστείως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λελεγμένων· ἄρξασθαι δὲ ἀπὸ Φαβωρίνου καλὸν καὶ ὦν πρὸς ἐκείνον εἶπεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ Φαβωρίνος ἀκούσας τινὸς ὡς ἐν γέλωτι ποιοῖτο τὰς ὁμιλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς μελῶν τὸ ἐπικεκλασμένον σφόδρα ὡς ἀγεννὲς καὶ γυναικεῖον καὶ φιλοσοφία ἥκιστα πρέπον, προσελθὼν ἡρώτα τὸν Δημῶν-
ακτα, τίς ὦν χλευάζει τὰ αὐτοῦ· Ἄνθρωπος,

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courage he wreathed his head, put on a clean cloak, went to the assembly and made his defence, which was in part good-tempered, in part more caustic than accorded with his scheme of life. Regarding his never having offered sacrifice to Athena, he said: "Do not be surprised, men of Athens, that I have not hitherto sacrificed to her: I did not suppose that she had any need of my offerings." Regarding the other charge, the matter of the mysteries, he said that he had never joined them in the rite because if the mysteries were bad, he would not hold his tongue before the uninitiate but would turn them away from the cult, while if they were good, he would reveal them to everybody out of his love for humanity. So the Athenians, who already had stones in both hands to throw at him, became good-natured and friendly toward him at once, and from that time on they honoured, respected and finally admired him. Yet in the very beginning of his speech he had used a pretty caustic introduction, "Men of Athens, you see me ready with my garland: come, sacrifice me like your former victim, for on that occasion your offering found no favour with the gods!"

I should like to cite a few of his well-directed and witty remarks, and may as well begin with Favorinus¹ and what he said to him. When Favorinus was told by someone that Demonax was making fun of his lectures and particularly of the laxity of their rhythm, saying that it was vulgar and effeminate and not by any means appropriate to philosophy, he went to Demonax and asked him: "Who are you to libel my compositions?" "A

¹ An eunuch from Arles, of considerable repute as a sophist.

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ἔφη, οὐκ εὐαπάτητα ἔχων τὰ ὦτα. ἐγκειμένου δὲ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ καὶ ἐρωτῶντος, τίνα δὲ καὶ ἐφόδια ἔχων, ὦ Δημῶναξ, ἐκ παιδείας εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ἤκεις; Ὁρχεῖς, ἔφη.

Ἄλλοτε δέ ποτε ὁ αὐτὸς προσελθὼν ἡρώτα τὸν Δημῶνακτα, τίνα αἵρεσιν ἀσπάζεται μᾶλλον ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ· ὁ δέ, Τίς γάρ σοι εἶπεν ὅτι φιλοσοφῶ; καὶ ἀπὼν ἤδη παρ' αὐτοῦ μάλα ἡδὺ ἐγέλασεν· τοῦ δὲ ἐρωτήσαντος, ἐφ' ὅτῳ γελά, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, Γελοῖόν μοι εἶναι ἔδοξεν, εἰ σὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ πώγωνος ἀξιοῖς κρίνεσθαι τοὺς φιλοσοφούντας αὐτὸς πώγωνα οὐκ ἔχων.

Τοῦ δὲ Σιδωνίου ποτὲ σοφιστοῦ Ἀθήνησιν εὐδοκιμοῦντος καὶ λέγοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἔπαινόν τινα τοιοῦτον, ὅτι πάσης φιλοσοφίας πεπεύραται — οὐ χεῖρον δὲ αὐτὰ εἰπεῖν ἢ ἔλεγεν· Ἐὰν Ἀριστοτέλης με καλῇ ἐπὶ τὸ Λύκειον, ἔψομαι· ἂν Πλάτων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν, ἀφίξομαι· ἂν Ζήνων, ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ διατρίψω· ἂν Πυθαγόρας καλῇ, σιωπήσομαι. ἀναστὰς οὖν ἐκ μέσων τῶν ἀκροωμένων, Οὗτος, ἔφη προσειπὼν τὸ ὄνομα, καλεῖ σε Πυθαγόρας.

Πύθωνος δὲ τινος τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ εὐπαρύφων νεανίσκου ὠραίου ἐρεσχηλοῦντος αὐτὸν καὶ προτείνοντος ἐρώτημά τι σοφιστικὸν καὶ κελεύοντος εἰπεῖν τοῦ συλλογισμοῦ τὴν λύσιν, Ἐν, ἔφη, οἶδα, τέκνον, ὅτι περαίνει. ἀγανακτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς ἀμφιβολίας σκώμματι καὶ συναπειλήσαντος, Αὐτίκα σοι μάλα τὸν ἄνδρα

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man with an ear that is not easy to cheat," said he. The sophist kept at him and asked: "What qualifications had you, Demonax, to leave school and commence philosophy?" "Those you lack," he retorted.

Another time the same man went to him and asked what philosophical school he favoured most. Demonax replied: "Why, who told you that I was a philosopher?" As he left, he broke into a very hearty laugh; and when Favorinus asked him what he was laughing at, he replied: "It seemed to me ridiculous that you should think a philosopher can be told by his beard when you yourself have none."

When the Sidonian sophist¹ was once showing his powers at Athens, and was voicing his own praise to the effect that he was acquainted with all philosophy—but I may as well cite his very words: "If Aristotle calls me to the Lyceum, I shall go with him; if Plato calls me to the Academy, I shall come; if Zeno calls, I shall spend my time in the Stoa; if Pythagoras calls, I shall hold my tongue."² Well, Demonax arose in the midst of the audience and said: "Ho" (addressing him by name), "Pythagoras is calling you!"

When a handsome young fellow named Pytho, who belonged to one of the aristocratic families in Macedonia, was quizzing him, putting a catch-question to him and asking him to tell the logical answer, he said: "I know thus much, my boy—it's a poser, and so are you!" Enraged at the pun, the other said threateningly: "I'll show you in short order that you've a man to deal with!"

¹ Otherwise unknown.

² Alluding to the Pythagorean vow of silence.

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δείξω, ὁ δὲ σὺν γέλωτι ἠρώτησεν, Καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἔχεις;

Ἐπεὶ δέ τις ἀθλητῆς καταγελασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐσθῆτα ὥφθη ἀνθινὴν ἀμπεχόμενος Ὀλυμπιονίκης ὢν, ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ καὶ αἷμα ἐρρῦη, οἱ μὲν παρόντες ἠγανάκτουν ὥς αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τετυπτημένος καὶ ἐβόων ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἵεναι, ὁ δὲ Δημῶναξ, Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, πρὸς τὸν ἀνθύπατον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἱατρὸν.

Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε καὶ χρυσοῦν δακτύλιον ὁδῶ βαδίζων εὗρεν, γραμματεῖον ἐν ἀγορᾷ προθεὶς ἡξίου τὸν ἀπολέσαντα, ὅστις εἶη τοῦ δακτυλίου δεσπότης, ἤκειν καὶ εἰπόντα ὀλκὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ λίθον καὶ τύπον ἀπολαμβάνειν· ἤκεν οὖν τις μειρακίσκος ὥραιος αὐτὸς ἀπολωλεκέναι λέγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἔλεγεν, Ἄπιθι, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δακτύλιον φύλαττε, τοῦτον γὰρ οὐκ ἀπολώλεκας.

Τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς τις Ἀθήνησιν υἱὸν αὐτῷ δείξας πάνν ὥραιον, θηλυδρίαν δὲ καὶ διακεκλασμένοι, Προσαγορεύει σε, ἔφη, ὁ ἐμὸς υἱὸς οὐτοσί, καὶ ὁ Δημῶναξ, Καλός,¹ ἔφη, καὶ σοῦ ἄξιος καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὅμοιος.

Τὸν δὲ Κυνικὸν τὸν ἐν ἄρκτου δέρματι φιλοσσοφούντα οὐχ Ὀνωρᾶτον, ὥσπερ ὠνομάζετο, ἀλλ' Ἀρκεσίλαον καλεῖν ἡξίου.

Ἐρωτήσαντος δέ τινος, τίς αὐτῷ ὄρος εὐδαιμονίας εἶναι δοκεῖ, μόνον εὐδαίμονα ἔφη τὸν ἐλεύθερον· ἐκείνου δὲ φήσαντος πολλοὺς ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, Ἄλλ' ἐκείνον νομίζω τὸν μῆτε ἐλπί-

¹ καλός MSS.: καλῶς Schwartz.

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whereupon Demonax laughingly inquired: "Oh, you will send for your man, then?"

When an athlete, whom he had ridiculed for letting himself be seen in gay clothes although he was an Olympic champion, struck him on the head with a stone and drew blood, each of the bystanders was as angry as if he himself had been struck, and they shouted "Go, get the proconsul!" But Demonax said "No! not the proconsul—the doctor!"

Finding a bit of jewelry one day while he was out walking, he posted a notice in the public square asking the one who owned it and had lost it to come and get it by describing the weight of the setting, the stone, and the engravings on it. Well, a pretty girl came to him saying that she had lost it; but as there was nothing right in her description, Demonax said: "Be off, girl, and don't lose your own jewel: this is none of yours!"

A Roman senator in Athens introduced his son to him, a handsome boy, but girlish and neurasthenic, saying: "My son here pays his respects to you." "A dear boy," said Demonax, "worthy of you and like his mother!"

The Cynic who pursued his philosophical studies clad in a bearskin he would not call Honoratus, which was his name, but Ursinus.

When a man asked him what he thought was the definition of happiness, he replied that none but a free man is happy; and when the other said that free men were numerous, he rejoined: "But I have

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ζοντά τι μήτε δεδιότα· ὁ δέ, Καὶ πῶς ἄν, ἔφη, τοῦτό τις δύναιτο; ἅπαντες γὰρ ὡς τὸ πολὺν τούτοις δεδουλώμεθα. Καὶ μὴν εἰ κατανοήσεις τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα, εὖροις ἂν αὐτὰ οὔτε ἐλπίδος οὔτε φόβου ἄξια, παυσομένων πάντως καὶ τῶν ἀνιαρῶν καὶ τῶν ἡδέων.

Περεγρίνου δὲ τοῦ Πρωτέως ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ, 21
ὅτι ἐγέλα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσέ-
παιξε, καὶ λέγοντος, Δημῶναξ, οὐ κυνᾶς, ἀπε-
κρίνατο, Περεγρίνε, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίζεις.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ φυσικόν τινα περὶ τῶν ἀντιπόδων 22
διαλεγόμενον ἀναστήσας καὶ ἐπὶ φρέαρ ἀγαγὼν
καὶ δείξας αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι σκιὰν ἤρετο,
Τοιούτους ἄρα τοὺς ἀντίποδας εἶναι λέγεις;

Ἄλλὰ καὶ μάγου τινὸς εἶναι λέγοντος καὶ 23
ἐπφδὰς ἔχειν ἰσχυράς, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἅπαντας
ἀναπεισθῆναι¹ παρέχειν αὐτῷ ὅποσα βούλεται,
Μὴ θαύμαζε, ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁμότεχνός εἰμί
σοι, καὶ εἰ βούλει, ἔπου πρὸς τὴν ἀρτόπωλιν καὶ
ὄψει με διὰ μιᾶς ἐπφδῆς καὶ μικροῦ τοῦ² φαρμάκου
πείθοντα αὐτὴν δοῦναί μοι τῶν ἄρτων, αἰνιτ-
τόμενος τὸ νόμισμα ὡς τὰ ἴσα τῇ ἐπφδῇ
• δυνάμενον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ πάννυ ἐπένθει τὸν 24
Πολυδεύκη πρὸ ὥρας ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἡξίου
ὄχημα ζεύγυσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἵππους παρίστασθαι
ὡς ἀναβησομένῳ καὶ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεσθαι,
προσελθὼν, Παρὰ Πολυδεύκους, ἔφη, κομίζω σοί

¹ ἀναπεισθῆναι Schwartz: ἀναπεῖθιν καὶ MSS.

² τοῦ MSS.: του Fritzsche.

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in mind the man who neither hopes nor fears anything." "But how can one achieve this? For the most part we are all slaves of hope and fear." "Why, if you observe human affairs you will find that they do not afford justification either for hope or for fear, since, whatever you may say, pains and pleasures are alike destined to end."

When Peregrinus Proteus rebuked him for laughing a great deal and making sport of mankind saying: "Demonax, you're not at all doggish!" he answered, "Peregrinus, you are not at all human!"¹

When a scientist was talking of the Topsy-turvy people (Antipodes), he made him get up, took him to a well, showed him their own reflection in the water and asked: "Is that the sort of topsy-turvy people you mean?"

When a fellow claimed to be a sorcerer and to have spells so potent that by their agency he could prevail on everybody to give him whatever he wanted, Demonax said: "Nothing strange in that! I am in the same business: follow me to the bread-woman's, if you like, and you shall see me persuade her to give me bread with a single spell and a tiny charm"—implying that a coin is as good as a spell.

When Herodes,² the superlative, was mourning the premature death of Polydeuces and wanted a chariot regularly made ready and horses put to it just as if the boy were going for a drive, and dinner regularly served for him, Demonax went to him and said: "I am bringing you a message from Polydeuces."

¹ Peregrinus Proteus, of whose death and translation to a higher sphere Lucian has written in "The Passing of Peregrinus," carried his 'doggishness' (Cynicism) to extremes.

² Herodes Atticus. Polydeuces was a favourite slave.

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τινα ἐπιστολήν. ἡσθέντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ οἰηθέν-
τος ὅτι κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
συντρέχει τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰπόντος, Τί οὖν,
ὦ Δημῶναξ, Πολυδεύκης ἀξιοῖ; Αἰτιᾶταί σε, ἔφη,
ὅτι μὴ ἤδη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄπει.

Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς υἱὸν πενθοῦντι καὶ ἐν σκότῳ 25
ἐαυτὸν καθεύρξαντι προσελθὼν ἔλεγεν μάγος τε
εἶναι καὶ δύνασθαι αὐτῷ ἀναγαγεῖν τοῦ παιδὸς τὸ
εἶδωλον, εἰ μόνον αὐτῷ τρεῖς τινας ἀνθρώπους
ὀνομάσειε μηδένα πώποτε πεπενθηκότας· ἐπὶ
πολὺ δὲ ἐκείνου ἐνδοιάσαντος καὶ ἀποροῦντος—οὐ
γὰρ εἶχεν τινα, οἶμαι, εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον—Εἴτ', ἔφη,
ὦ γελοῖε, μόνος ἀφόρητα πᾶσχειν νομίζεις μηδένα
ὀρῶν πένθους ἅμοιρον;

Καὶ μὴν κἀκείνων καταγελᾶν ἡξίου τῶν ἐν 26
ταῖς ὀμιλίαις πάνυ ἀρχαίοις καὶ ξένοις ὀνόμασι
χρωμένων· ἐν γοῦν ἐρωτηθέντι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγον
τινὰ καὶ ὑπεραττικῶς ἀποκριθέντι, Ἐγὼ μὲν σε,
ἔφη, ὦ ἐταῖρε, νῦν ἡρώτησα, σὺ δέ μοι ὥς ἐπ'
'Αγαμέμνονος· ἀποκρίνη.

Εἰπόντος δέ τις τῶν ἐταίρων, Ἀπίωμεν, 27
Δημῶναξ, εἰς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον καὶ προσευξώμεθα
ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ, Πάνυ, ἔφη, κωφὸν ἡγῇ τὸν
'Ασκληπιόν, εἰ μὴ δύναται κἀντεῦθεν ἡμῶν
εὐχομένων ἀκούειν.

Ἰδὼν δέ ποτε δύο τινας φιλοσόφους κομιδῇ 28
ἀπαιδεύτως ἐν ζητήσῃ ἐρίζοντας καὶ τὸν μὲν
ἄτοπα ἐρωτῶντα, τὸν δὲ οὐδὲν πρὸς λόγον ἀπο-
κρινόμενον, Οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ὦ φίλοι, ὁ μὲν
ἕτερος τούτων τράγον ἀμέλγειν, ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ
κόσκινον ὑποτιθέναι;

Ἀγαθοκλέους δὲ τοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ μέγα φρο- 29

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Herodes was pleased and thought that Demonax, like everyone else, was falling in with his humour; so he said: Well, what does Polydeuces want, Demonax?" "He finds fault with you," said he, "for not going to join him at once!"

He went to a man who was mourning the death of a son and had shut himself up in the dark, and told him that he was a sorcerer and could raise the boy's shade for him if only he would name three men who had never mourned for anyone. When the man hesitated long and was perplexed—I suppose he could not name a single one—Demonax said: "You ridiculous fellow, do you think, then, that you alone suffer beyond endurance, when you see that nobody is unacquainted with mourning?"

He also liked to poke fun at those who use obsolete and unusual words in conversation. For instance, to a man who had been asked a certain question by him and had answered in far-fetched book-language, he said: "I asked you now, but you answer me as if I had asked in Agamemnon's day."

When one of his friends said: "Demonax, let's go to the Aesculapium and pray for my son," he replied: "You must think Aesculapius very deaf, that he can't hear our prayers from where we are!"

On seeing two philosophers very ignorantly debating a given subject, one asking silly questions and the other giving answers that were not at all to the point, he said: "Doesn't it seem to you, friends, that one of these fellows is milking a he-goat and the other is holding a sieve for him!"

When Agathocles the Peripatetic was boasting

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νοῦντος ὅτι μόνος αὐτός ἐστιν καὶ πρῶτος τῶν
διαλεκτικῶν, ἔφη, Καὶ μὴν, ὦ Ἀγαθόκλεις, εἰ μὲν
πρῶτος, οὐ μόνος, εἰ δὲ μόνος, οὐ πρῶτος.

Κεθήγου δὲ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ, ὁπότε διὰ τῆς 30
Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπῆει πρεσβεύσων τῷ
πατρὶ, πολλὰ καταγέλαστα καὶ λέγοντος καὶ
ποιούντος, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐταίρων τις ὁρῶν ταῦτα
ἔλεγεν αὐτὸν μέγα κάθαρμα εἶναι, Μὰ τὸν Δί',
ἔφη ὁ Δημῶναξ, οὐδὲ μέγα.

Καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον δέ ποτε τὸν φιλόσοφον 31
ιδὼν μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν μαθητῶν ἐξελαύνοντα—
ἤδη δὲ ἀπῆει μετάπεμπτος ὥς ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ τῷ
βασίλει συνεσόμενος—Προσέρχεται, ἔφη, Ἀπολ-
λώνιος καὶ οἱ Ἀργοναῦται αὐτοῦ.

Ἄλλου δέ ποτε ἐρομένου εἰ ἀθάνατος αὐτῷ 32
ἢ ψυχὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι, Ἀθάνατος, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ὥς
πάντα.

Περὶ μέντοι Ἡρώδου ἔλεγεν ἀληθεύειν τὸν 33
Πλάτωνα φάμενον, οὐ μίαν ἡμᾶς ψυχὴν ἔχειν· οὐ
γὰρ εἶναι τῆς αὐτῆς ψυχῆς Ῥήγιλλαν καὶ Πολυ-
δεύκη ὥς ζῶντας ἐστιᾶν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μελετᾶν.

Ἐτόλμησε δέ ποτε καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐρωτῆσαι 34
δημοσίᾳ τῆς προρρήσεως ἀκούσας, διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν
ἀποκλείουσι τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ τὴν
τελετὴν αὐτοῖς καταστησαμένου Εὐμόλπου βαρ-
βάρου καὶ Θρακὸς ὄντος.

Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε πλεῖν μέλλοντι αὐτῷ διὰ 35
χειμῶνος ἔφη τις τῶν φίλων, Οὐ δέδοικας μὴ
ἀνατραπέντος τοῦ σκάφους ὑπὸ ἰχθύων κατα-

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that he was first among the logicians—that there was no other, he said: “Come now, Agathocles; if there is no other, you are not first: if you are first, then there are others.”

Cethegus the ex-consul, going by way of Greece to Asia to be his father’s lieutenant, did and said many ridiculous things. One of the friends of Demonax, looking on, said that he was a great good-for-nothing. “No, he isn’t, either,” said he—“not a great one!”

When he saw Apollonius the philosopher leaving the city with a multitude of disciples (he was called away to be tutor to the emperor), Demonax remarked: “There goes Apollonius and his Argonauts!”¹

When a man asked him if he thought that the soul was immortal, he said: “Yes, but no more so than everything else.”

Touching Herodes he remarked that Plato was right in saying that we have more than one soul, for a man with only one could not feast Regilla² and Polydeuces as if they were still alive and say what he did in his lectures.

Once, on hearing the proclamation which precedes the mysteries, he made bold to ask the Athenians publicly why they exclude foreigners, particularly as the founder of the rite, Eumolpus, was a foreigner and a Thracian to boot!

Again, when he was intending to make a voyage in winter, one of his friends remarked: “Aren’t you afraid the boat will capsize and the fishes will

¹ Alluding to Apollonius of Rhodes and his poem on the Argonauts, and implying that this was another quest of the Golden Fleece.

² Wife of Herodes.

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βρωθῆς; Ἀγνώμων ἂν εἶην, ἔφη, ὁκνῶν ὑπὸ
 ἰχθύων κατεδεσθῆναι τοσούτους αὐτὸς ἰχθύς
 καταφαγών.

Ῥήτορι δέ τινι κάκιστα μελετήσαντι συνεβού- 36
 λευεν ἀσκεῖν καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος,
 Ἄει ἐπ' ἑμαυτοῦ λέγω, Εἰκότως τοίνυν, ἔφη,
 τοιαῦτα λέγεις μωρῷ ἀκροατῇ χρώμενος.

Καὶ μάντιν δέ ποτε ἰδὼν δημοσίᾳ ἐπὶ μισθῷ 37
 μαντευόμενον, Οὐχ ὁρῶ, ἔφη, ἐφ' ὅτῳ τὸν μισθὸν
 ἀπαιτεῖς· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀλλάξαι τι δυνάμενος
 τῶν ἐπικεκλωσμένων, ὀλίγον αἰτεῖς ὅπόσον ἂν
 αἰτῆς, εἰ δὲ ὡς δέδοκται τῷ θεῷ πάντα ἔσται, τί
 σου δύναται ἡ μαντική;

Πρεσβύτου δέ τινος Ῥωμαίου εὐσωματοῦν- 38
 τος τὴν ἐνόπλιον αὐτῷ μάχην πρὸς πάτταλον
 ἐπιδειξαμένου καὶ ἐρομένου, Πῶς σοι, Δημῶναξ,
 μεμαχῆσθαι ἔδοξα; Καλῶς, ἔφη, ἂν ξύλινον τὸν
 ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἔχῃς.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπόρους τῶν ἐρωτή- 39
 σεων πάνν εὐστόχως παρεσκεύαστο· ἐρομένου γάρ
 τινος ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ, Εἰ χιλίας μνᾶς ξύλων
 καύσαιμι, ὦ Δημῶναξ, πόσαι μναῖ ἂν καπνοῦ
 γένοιντο; Στήσον, ἔφη, τὴν σποδόν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
 πᾶν καπνὸς ἔσται.

Πολυβίου δέ τινος, κομιδῇ ἀπαιδεύτου ἀνθρώ- 40
 που καὶ σολοίκου, εἰπόντος, Ὁ βασιλεὺς με
 τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ τετίμηκεν· Εἶθε σε, ἔφη,
 Ἕλληνα μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαῖον πεποιήκει.¹

Ἰδὼν δέ τινα τῶν εὐπαρύφων ἐπὶ τῷ πλάτει 41
 τῆς πορφύρας μέγα φρονούντα, κύψας αὐτοῦ
 πρὸς τὸ οὖς καὶ τῆς ἐσθῆτος λαβόμενος καὶ δείξας,

¹ πεποιήκει Bekker : πεποίηκεν MSS.

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eat you?" "I should be an ingrate," said he, "if I made any bones about letting the fishes eat me, when I have eaten so many of them!"

An orator whose delivery was wretched was advised by him to practise and exercise; on his replying: "I am always reciting to myself," Demonax answered: "Then no wonder you recite that way, with a fool for a hearer!"

Again, on seeing a soothsayer make public forecasts for money, he said: "I don't see on what ground you claim the fee: if you think you can change destiny in any way, you ask too little, however much you ask; but if everything is to turn out as Heaven has ordained, what good is your soothsaying?"

When a Roman officer, well-developed physically, gave him an exhibition of sword-practice on a post, and asked: "What did you think of my swordsmanship, Demonax?" he said: "Fine, if you have a wooden adversary!"

Moreover, when questions were unanswerable he always had an apt retort ready. When a man asked him banteringly: "If I should burn a thousand pounds of wood, Demonax, how many pounds of smoke would it make?" he replied: "Weigh the ashes: all the rest will be smoke."

A man named Polybius, quite uneducated and ungrammatical, said: "The emperor has honoured me with the Roman citizenship." "Oh, why didn't he make you a Greek instead of a Roman?" said he.

On seeing an aristocrat who set great store on the breadth of his purple band, Demonax, taking hold of the garment and calling his attention to it,

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Τοῦτο μέντοι πρὸ σοῦ πρόβατον ἐφόρει καὶ ἦν πρόβατον.

Ἐπεὶ μέντοι λουόμενος ὤκνησεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ 42
ζέον ἐμβῆναι, καὶ ἠτιάσατό τις ὡς ἀποδειλιά-
σαντα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὑπὲρ πατρίδος αὐτὸ πείσε-
σθαι ἔμελλον;

Ἐρομένου δέ τινος, Ποῖα νομίζεις εἶναι τὰ ἐν 43
Ἰδίου; Περίμεινον, ἔφη, κακέῃθ' ἐσοι ἐπιστελῶ.

Ἀδμήτῳ δέ τινι ποιητῇ φαύλῳ λέγοντι γεγρα- 44
φέναι μονόστιχον ἐπίγραμμα, ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς διαθή-
καις κεκέλευκεν ἐπιγραφῆναι αὐτοῦ τῇ στήλῃ—
οὐ χεῖρον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν,

Γαῖα λάβ' Ἀδμήτου ἔλυτρον, βῆ δ' εἰς θεὸν
αὐτός—

γελάσας εἶπεν, Οὕτω καλὸν ἐστίν, ὦ Ἀδμητε,
τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὥστε ἐβουλόμην αὐτὸ ἤδη ἐπι-
γεγράφθαι.

Ἰδὼν δέ τις ἐπὶ τῶν σκελῶν αὐτοῦ οἶα τοῖς 45
γέρουσιν ἐπιεικῶς γίνεται, ἤρετο, Τί τοῦτο, ὦ
Δημῶναξ; ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας, Χάρων με ἔδακεν, ἔφη.

Καὶ μέντοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον τινα ἰδὼν τὸν 46
αὐτοῦ οἰκέτην μαστιγοῦντα, Παῦσαι, ἔφη, ὁμό-
τιμον σαυτοῦ τὸν δοῦλον ἀποφαίνων.

Δανάης δέ τινος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν δίκην 47
ἐχούσης, Κρίθητι, ἔφη, οὐ γὰρ εἰ Δανάη ἡ
Ἀκρισίου θυγάτηρ.

Μάλιστα δὲ ἐπολέμει τοῖς οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν 48
ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν φιλοσοφοῦσιν· ἓνα γοῦν ἰδὼν
Κυνικὸν τρίβωνα μὲν καὶ πήραν ἔχοντα, ἀντὶ δὲ

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said in his ear : " A sheep wore this before you, and he was but a sheep for all that ! "

When he was taking a bath and hesitated to enter the steaming water, a man reproached him with cowardice. " Tell me, " said he, " was my country at stake in the matter ? "

When someone asked him : " What do you think it is like in Hades ? " he replied : " Wait a bit, and I'll send you word from there ! "

A vile poet named Admetus told him that he had written an epitaph in a single line and had given instructions in his will to have it carved on his tombstone. I may as well quote it exactly :

" Earth, in thy bosom receive Admetus's husk ; he's a god now ! "

Demonax said with a laugh : " The epitaph is so fine that I wish it were already carved ! "

A man saw on the legs of Demonax a discoloration of the sort that is natural to old people, and enquired : " What's that, Demonax ? " With a smile he said : " The ferryman's tooth-mark ! "

He saw a Spartan beating a slave, and said : " Stop treating him as your equal ! " ¹

When a woman named Danae had a dispute with her brother, he said : " Go to law ! Though your name be Danae, you are not the daughter of Acrisius (Lawless). "

Above all, he made war on those who cultivate philosophy in the spirit of vainglory and not in the spirit of truth. For example, on seeing a Cynic with cloak and wallet, but with a bar (hyperon) for a

¹ Whipping was a feature of the Spartan training.

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τῆς βακτηρίας ὑπερον, καὶ κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα ὅτι Ἀντισθένους καὶ Κράττητος καὶ Διογένους ἐστὶ ζηλωτής, Μὴ ψεύδου, ἔφη, σὺ γὰρ Ὑπερείδου μαθητὴς ὢν τυγχάνεις.

Ἐπεὶ μέντοι πολλοὺς τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἐώρα 49
κακομαχοῦντας καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐναγώνιον ἀντὶ τοῦ παγκρατιάζειν δάκνοντας, Οὐκ ἀπεικότως, ἔφη, τοὺς νῦν ἀθλητὰς οἱ παρομαρτοῦντες λέοντας καλοῦσιν.

Ἀστεῖον δὲ κακεῖνο αὐτοῦ καὶ δηκτικὸν ἄμα 50
τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἀνθύπατον εἰρημένον· ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῶν πιττουμένων τὰ σκέλη καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὅλον· Κυνικοῦ δέ τινος ἐπὶ λίθον ἀναβάντος καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο κατηγοροῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς κιναιδίαν διαβάλλοντος, ἀγανακτήσας καὶ κατασπασθῆναι τὸν Κυνικὸν κελεύσας ἔμελλεν ἢ ξύλοις συντρίψειν ἢ καὶ φυγῇ ζημιώσκειν· ἀλλ' ὃ γε Δημῶναξ παρατυχὼν παρητείτο συγγνώμην ἔχειν αὐτῷ κατὰ τινα πάτριον τοῖς Κυνικοῖς παρρησίαν θρασυνομένῳ. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου, Νῦν μὲν σοι ἀφίημι αὐτόν, ἂν δὲ ὕστερον τοιοῦτόν τι τολμήσῃ, τί παθεῖν ἄξιός ἐστιν; καὶ ὁ Δημῶναξ, Δρωπακισθῆναι τότε αὐτὸν κέλευσον.

Ἄλλῳ δέ τινι στρατοπέδῳ ἄμα καὶ ἔθνους 51
τοῦ μεγίστου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμπιστευθέντι ἐκ βασιλέως ἐρομένῳ, πῶς ἄριστα ἄρξει; Ἀοργήτως, ἔφη, καὶ ὀλίγα μὲν λαλῶν, πολλὰ δὲ ἀκούων.

Ἐρομένῳ δέ τινι εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς πλακοῦντας 52
ἐσθίοι, Οἶει οὖν, ἔφη, τοῖς μωροῖς τὰς μελίσσας τιθέναι τὰ κηρία;

DEMONAX

staff, who was making an uproar and saying that he was the follower of Antisthenes, Crates, and Diogenes, Demonax said: "Don't lie! You are really a disciple of Barson (Hyperides)¹!"

When he saw many of the athletes fighting foul and breaking the rules of the games by biting instead of boxing, he said: "No wonder the athletes of the present day are called 'lions' by their hangers-on!"

His remark to the proconsul was at once clever and cutting. This man was one of the sort that use pitch to remove hair from their legs and their whole bodies. When a Cynic mounted a stone and charged him with this, accusing him of effeminacy, he was angry, had the fellow hauled down and was on the point of confining him in the stocks or even sentencing him to exile. But Demonax, who was passing by, begged him to pardon the man for making bold to speak his mind in the traditional Cynic way. The proconsul said: "Well, I will let him off for you this time, but if he ever dares to do such a thing again, what shall be done to him?" "Have him depilated!" said Demonax.

One to whom the emperor had entrusted the command of legions and of the most important province asked Demonax what was the best way to exercise authority. "Don't lose your temper!" said he: "Do little talking and much listening!"

When someone asked him: "Do *you* eat honey-cakes?" he replied: "What! do you think the bees lay up their honey just for fools?"

¹ Perhaps an unknown Cynic; but the name may be used just for the sake of the pun, without reference to a definite person.

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Πρὸς δὲ τῇ Ποικίλῃ ἀνδριάντα ἰδὼν τὴν χεῖρα 53
ἀποκεκομμένον, ὅψ' ἔφη Ἀθηναίους εἰκόνι χαλκῇ
τετιμηκέναι τὸν Κυνέγειρον.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ Ῥουφῖνον τὸν Κύπριον—λέγω 54
δὴ τὸν χῳλὸν τὸν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου—ἰδὼν ἐπὶ
πολὺ τοῖς περιπάτοις ἐνδιατρίβοντα, Οὐδέν ἐστιν,
ἔφη, ἀναισχυντότερον χῳλοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ.

Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε ὁ Ἐπίκτητος ἐπιτιμῶν ἅμα συνε- 55
βούλευεν αὐτῷ ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκα καὶ παιδο-
ποιήσασθαι—πρέπειν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο φιλοσόφῳ
ἀνδρὶ ἕτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν τῇ φύσει—
ἐλεγκτικώτατα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρίνατο, Οὐκοῦν,
ὦ Ἐπίκτητε, δός μοι μίαν τῶν σαντοῦ θυγατέρων.

Καὶ μὴν τὸ πρὸς Ἑρμῖνον τὸν Ἀριστοτελικὸν 56
ἄξιον ἀπομνημονεῦσαι· εἰδὼς γὰρ αὐτὸν παγ-
κάκιστον μὲν ὄντα καὶ μυρία κακὰ ἐργαζόμενον,
τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη δ' ἐπαινοῦντα¹ καὶ διὰ στόματος
αὐτοῦ τὰς δέκα κατηγορίας ἔχοντα, Ἑρμῖνε,
ἔφη, ἀληθῶς ἄξιός εἰ δέκα κατηγοριῶν.

Ἀθηναίων δὲ σκεπτομένων κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν πρὸς 57
Κορινθίους καταστήσασθαι θεῶν μονομάχων,
προελθὼν εἰς αὐτούς, Μὴ πρότερον ταῦτα, ὦ
Ἀθηναῖοι, ψηφίσησθε, ἂν μὴ τοῦ Ἑλέου τὸν
βωμὸν καθέλητε.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ποτὲ ἐλθόντι αὐτῷ 58
Ἥλείοι εἰκόνα χαλκῇν ἐψηφίσαντο, Μηδαμῶς
τοῦτο, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἥλείοι, μὴ δόξητε ὀνειδίξειν
τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν, ὅτι μήτε Σωκράτους μήτε
Διογένους εἰκόνα ἀνατεθείκασιν.

¹ δ' ἐπαινοῦντα A.M.H.: δὲ θαυμάζοντα Fritzsche: Ἀριστο-
τέλη καὶ MSS., Nilén, who sets the comma after Ἀριστοτέλη.

DEMONAX

On seeing near the Painted Porch a statue with its hand cut off, he remarked that it was pretty late in the day for the Athenians to be honouring Cynegirus¹ with a bronze statue.

Noting that Rufinus the Cypriote (I mean the lame man of the school of Aristotle) was spending much time in the walks of the Lyceum, he remarked: "Pretty cheeky, I call it—a lame Peripatetic (Stroller)!"

When Epictetus rebuked him and advised him to get married and have children, saying that a philosopher ought to leave nature a substitute when he is gone, his answer was very much to the point: "Then give me one of your daughters, Epictetus!"

His reply to Herminus the Aristotelian deserves mention. Aware that, although he was an out-and-out scoundrel and had done a thousand misdeeds, he sang the praises of Aristotle and had his Ten Sentences (the Categories) on his tongue's end, Demonax said: "Herminus, you really need ten sentences!"

When the Athenians, out of rivalry with the Corinthians, were thinking of holding a gladiatorial show, he came before them and said: "Don't pass this resolution, men of Athens, without first pulling down the altar of Mercy."

When he went to Olympia and the Eleans voted him a bronze statue, he said: "Don't do this, men of Elis, for fear you may appear to reflect on your ancestors because they did not set up statues either to Socrates or to Diogenes."

¹ Brother of Aeschylus, who lost his hand at Marathon, and the Painted Porch was so called from a fresco by Polygnotus representing the battle.

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- Ἦκουσα δὲ αὐτοῦ ποτε καὶ πρὸς τὸν . . . 59
 τὸν¹ τῶν νόμων ἔμπειρον ταῦτα λέγοντος, ὅτι
 κινδυνεύουσιν ἄχρηστοι εἶναι οἱ νόμοι, ἂν τε
 πονηροῖς ἂν τε ἀγαθοῖς γράφονται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ
 οὐ δέονται νόμων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ νόμων οὐδὲν βελτίους
 γίνονται.
- Τῶν δὲ Ὀμήρου στίχον ἓνα ἦδεν μάλιστα— 60
 κάτθαν' ὁμῶς ὃ τ' ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ὃ τε πολλὰ ἐοργῶς.
- Ἐπῆνει δὲ καὶ τὸν Θερσίτην ὡς Κυνικόν τινα 61
 δημηγόρον.
- Ἐρωτηθεὶς δέ ποτε, τίς αὐτῷ ἀρέσκοι τῶν 62
 φιλοσόφων, ἔφη, Πάντες μὲν θαυμαστοί· ἐγὼ δὲ
 Σωκράτη μὲν σέβω, θαυμάζω δὲ Διογένη καὶ φιλῶ
 Ἀρίστιππον.
- Ἐβίου δὲ ἔτη ὀλίγου δέοντα τῶν ἑκατὸν ἄνο- 63
 σος, ἄλυπος, οὐδένα ἐνοχλήσας τι ἢ αἰτήσας,
 φίλοις χρήσιμος, ἐχθρὸν οὐδένα οὐδεπώποτε
 ἐσχηκώς· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρωτα ἔσχον πρὸς αὐτὸν
 Ἀθηναῖοί τε αὐτοὶ καὶ ἅπανα ἢ Ἑλλάς, ὥστε
 παριόντι ὑπεξανίστασθαι μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας,
 σιωπῇν δὲ γίνεσθαι παρὰ πάντων. τὸ τελευταῖον
 δὲ ἤδη ὑπέργῃρως ὦν ἄκλητος εἰς ἣν τύχοι παριῶν
 οἰκίαν ἐδείπνει καὶ ἐκάθευδε, τῶν ἐνοικούντων
 θεοῦ τινα ἐπιφάνειαν ἡγουμένων τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ
 τινα ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα εἰσεληλυθῆναι αὐτοῖς εἰς
 τὴν οἰκίαν. παριόντα δὲ αἱ ἀρτοπώλιδες ἀνθεῖλ-
 κον πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐκάστη ἀξιούσα παρ' αὐτῆς λαμ-
 βάνειν τῶν ἄρτων, καὶ τοῦτο εὐτυχίαν ἑαυτῆς ἢ
 δεδωκυῖα ᾤετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ οἱ παῖδες ὁπώρας
 προσέφερον αὐτῷ πατέρα ὀνομάζοντες. στάσεως 64

¹ πρὸς τὸν . . . τὸν A.M.H.: πρὸς τὸν MSS.

DEMONAX

I once heard him say to . . ., the lawyer, that in all likelihood the laws were of no use, whether framed for the bad or the good ; for the latter had no need of laws, and the former were not improved by them.

From Homer the one line he most frequently quoted was :

“ Idler or toiler, 'tis all one to Death.”¹

He had a good word even for Thersites, calling him a mob-orator of the Cynic type.

When he was once asked which of the philosophers he liked, he said : “ They are all admirable, but for my part I revere Socrates, I wonder at Diogenes, and I love Aristippus.”

He lived almost a hundred years, without illness or pain, bothering nobody and asking nothing of anyone, helping his friends and never making an enemy. Not only the Athenians but all Greece conceived such affection for him that when he passed by the magistrates rose up in his honour and there was silence everywhere. Toward the end, when he was very old, he used to eat and sleep uninvited in any house which he chanced to be passing, and the inmates thought that it was almost a divine visitation, and that good fortune had entered their doors. As he went by, the bread-women would pull him toward them, each wanting him to take some bread from her, and she who succeeded in giving it thought that she was in luck. The children, too, brought him fruit and called him father. Once when

¹ *Iliad* 9, 320.

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δέ ποτε Ἀθήνησι γενομένης εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ φανείς μόνον σιωπᾶν ἐποίησεν αὐτούς· ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν ἤδη μετεγνωκότας οὐδὲν εἰπὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπηλλάγη.

“Ὅτε δὲ συνήκεν οὐκέθ’ οἷός τε ὢν αὐτῷ ἐπικου- 65
ρεῖν, εἰπὼν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας τὸν ἐναγώνιον
τῶν κηρύκων πόδα

Λήγει μὲν ἀγὼν τῶν καλλίστων
ἄθλων ταμίας, καιρὸς δὲ καλεῖ
μηκέτι μέλλειν,

καὶ πάντων ἀποσχόμενος ἀπῆλθεν τοῦ βίου
φαιδρὸς καὶ οἷος αἰετὸς τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐφαίνετο.
ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς ἐρομένου τινός, 66
Περὶ ταφῆς τί κελεύεις; Μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖτε,
ἔφη· ἡ γὰρ ὁδμή με θάψει. φαμένου δὲ ἐκείνου,
Τί οὖν; οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ὀρνέοις καὶ κυσὶ βορὰν
προτεθῆναι τηλικούτου ἀνδρὸς σῶμα; Καὶ μὴν
οὐδὲν ἄτοπον, ἔφη, τοῦτο, εἰ μέλλω καὶ ἀπο-
θανὼν ζῶοις τισὶ χρήσιμος ἔσεσθαι. οἱ μέντοι 67
Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν δημοσίᾳ μεγαλο-
πρεπῶς καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐπένθησαν, καὶ τὸν θᾶκον
τὸν λίθινον, ἐφ’ οὗ εἰώθει ὁπότε κάμνοι ἀναπαύε-
σθαι, προσεκύνουν καὶ ἐστεφάνουν ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ
ἀνδρός, ἡγούμενοι ἱερὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸν λίθον, ἐφ’ οὗ
ἐκαθέζετο. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐκφορὰν οὐκ ἔστιν
ὅστις οὐκ ἀπήντησεν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν φιλοσό-
φων· οὗτοι μέντοι ὑποδύντες ἐκόμιζον αὐτὸν ἄχρι
πρὸς τὸν τάφον.

Ταῦτα ὀλίγα πάννυ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀπεμνημόνευσα,
καὶ ἔστιν ἀπὸ τούτων τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι λογι-
ζεσθαι ὅποῖος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο.

DEMONAX

there was a party quarrel in Athens, he went into the assembly and just by showing himself reduced them to silence : then, seeing that they had already repented, he went away without a word.

When he realised that he was no longer able to wait upon himself, he quoted to those who were with him the verses of the heralds at the games :

Here endeth a contest awarding the fairest
Of prizes : time calls, and forbids us delay.

Then, refraining from all food, he took leave of life in the same cheerful humour that people he met always saw him in. A short time before the end he was asked : "What orders have you to give about your burial?" and replied : "Don't borrow trouble ! The stench will get me buried !" The man said : "Why, isn't it disgraceful that the body of such a man should be exposed for birds and dogs to devour?" "I see nothing out of the way in it," said he, "if even in death I am going to be of service to living things." But the Athenians gave him a magnificent public funeral and mourned him long. To honour him, they did obeisance to the stone bench on which he used to rest when he was tired, and they put garlands on it ; for they felt that even the stone on which he had been wont to sit was sacred. Everybody attended his burial, especially the philosophers ; indeed, it was they who took him on their shoulders and carried him to the tomb.

These are a very few things out of many which I might have mentioned, but they will suffice to give my readers a notion of the sort of man he was.

THE HALL

The concluding words of this piece show that, like *Dionysus*, *Heracles*, and *Amber*, it was the introduction to a lecture or a course of lectures.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ

Εἶτα Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἐπεθύμησεν ἐν τῷ 1
Κύδνῳ λούσασθαι καλὸν τε καὶ διαυγῇ τὸν ποτα-
μὸν ἰδὼν καὶ ἀσφαλῶς βαθὺν καὶ προσηνῶς ὀξὺν
καὶ νήξασθαι ἡδὺν καὶ θέρους ὥρα ψυχρόν, ὥστε
καὶ ἐπὶ προδῆλφ τῇ νόσφ ἦν ἐνόσησεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ,
δοκεῖ μοι οὐκ ἂν τοῦ λουτροῦ ἀποσχέσθαι· οἶκον
δέ τις ἰδὼν μεγέθει μέγιστον καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστον
καὶ φωτὶ φαιδρότατον καὶ χρυσῷ στιλπνότατον
καὶ γραφαῖς ἀνθηρότατον οὐκ ἂν ἐπιθυμήσειε
λόγους ἐν αὐτῷ διαθέσθαι, εἰ τύχοι περὶ τούτους
διατρίβων, καὶ ἐνευδοκιμῆσαι καὶ ἐλλαμπρύνασθαι
καὶ βοῆς ἐμπλήσαι καὶ ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸς
μέρος τοῦ κάλλους αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ περι-
σκοπήσας ἀκριβῶς καὶ θαυμάσας μόνον ἄπεισι
κωφὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλογον καταλιπὼν, μήτε
προσειπὼν μήτε προσομιλήσας, ὥσπερ τις ἄναυδος
ἢ φθόνῳ σιωπᾶν ἐγνωκώς; Ἡράκλεις, οὐ φιλο- 2
κάλου τινὸς οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ εὐμορφότατα ἐρωτικοῦ
τὸ ἔργον, ἀγροικία δὲ πολλή καὶ ἀπειροκαλία καὶ
προσέτι γε ἄμουσία, τῶν ἡδίστων αὐτὸν ἀπαξιούν
καὶ τῶν καλλίστων ἀποξενοῦν καὶ μὴ συνιέναι
ὥς οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ τὰ θεάματα νόμος ἰδιώταις
τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένοις ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν
ἀπόχρη τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτο, ἰδεῖν μόνον καὶ περι-
βλέψαι καὶ τὸ ὀφθαλμῶ περιενεγκεῖν καὶ πρὸς

THE HALL

ALEXANDER longed to bathe in the Cydnus on seeing that the stream was fair and clear, safely deep, agreeably swift, delightful to swim in and cool in the height of summer; even with foreknowledge of the fever which he contracted from it, I do not think he would have abstained from his plunge. Then can it be that on seeing a hall beyond compare in the greatness of its size, the splendour of its beauty, the brilliance of its illumination, the lustre of its gilding and the gaiety of its pictures, a man would not long to compose speeches in it, if this were his business, to seek repute and win glory in it, to fill it with his voice and, as far as lay in him, to become part and parcel of its beauty? Or after looking it over carefully and admiring it, would he rather go away and leave it mute and voiceless, without according it a word of greeting or a particle of intercourse, as if he were dumb or else out of ill-will had resolved to hold his tongue? Heracles! such conduct would not be that of a connoisseur or a lover of beauty; it would be very vulgar, tasteless, even Philistine to despise what is sweetest, to reject what is fairest, and not to comprehend that in all that appeals to the eye, the same law does not hold for ordinary and for educated men. No, for the former it is enough to do the usual thing—just to see, to look about, to cast their eyes everywhere, to crane

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τὴν ὀροφὴν ἀνακῦναι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπισείσαι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἡσθῆναι δέει τοῦ μὴ ἂν δυνηθῆναι ἄξιόν τι τῶν βλεπομένων εἰπεῖν, ὅστις δὲ μετὰ παιδείας ὀρᾷ τὰ καλὰ, οὐκ ἂν, οἶμαι, ἀγαπήσειεν ὅψει μόνῃ καρπωσάμενος τὸ τερπνὸν οὐδ' ἂν ὑπομείναι ἄφωνος θεατῆς τοῦ κάλλους γενέσθαι, πειράσεται δὲ ὡς οἶόν τε καὶ ἐνδιατρίψαι καὶ λόγῳ ἀμείψασθαι τὴν θεάν. ἡ δὲ ἀμοιβὴ οὐκ ἔπαινος τοῦ οἴκου μόνον—τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἴσως ἐκείνῳ τῷ νησιώτῃ μεираκίῳ ἔπρεπε, τὴν Μενελάου οἰκίαν ὑπερεκπεπλήχθαι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καλὰ τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν αὐτῆς ἀπεικάζειν, ἅτε μηδὲν ἐν γῇ καλὸν τι ἄλλο ἑωρακότι—ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς βελτίστους συγκαλέσαντα λόγων ἐπιδείξιν ποιήσασθαι μέρος τοῦ ἐπαίνου καὶ τοῦτο γένοιτο ἂν.

Καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπερήδιστον, οἶμαι, οἴκων ὁ κάλλιστος ἐς ὑποδοχὴν λόγων ἀναπεπταμένος καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ εὐφημίας μεστός ὢν, ἡρέμα καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ τὰ ἄντρα συνεπηχῶν καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις παρακολουθῶν καὶ παρατείνων τὰ τελευταῖα τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τοῖς ὑστάτοις τῶν λόγων ἐμβραδύνων, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς ἂν τις εὐμαθὴς ἀκροατῆς διαμνημονεύων τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ τὸν λέγοντα ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἀντίδοσιν οὐκ ἄμουσον ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτά· οἶόν τι πάσχουσι πρὸς τὰ αὐλήματα τῶν ποιμένων αἱ σκοπιαὶ ἐπαυλοῦσαι, τῆς φωνῆς ἐπανιούσης κατὰ τὸ ἀντίτυπον καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀναστρεφούσης· οἱ δὲ ἰδιῶται νομίζουσι παρθένον τινὰ εἶναι τὴν ἀμειβομένην τοὺς ἄδοντας ἢ

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their necks at the ceiling, to gesticulate and to take their joy in silence for fear of not being able to say anything adequate to what they see. But when a man of culture beholds beautiful things, he will not be content, I am sure, to harvest their charm with his eyes alone, and will not endure to be a silent spectator of their beauty; he will do all he can to linger there and make some return for the spectacle in speech. And such a return does not consist simply in praising the hall. No doubt it was fitting for Homer's island boy¹ to be astounded at the house of Menelaus and to compare its ivory and gold to the beautiful things in heaven because he had never seen anything else on earth that was beautiful. But to speak here, to collect an audience of cultured men and show one's eloquence is also a form of praise.

It is very delightful, I think, that the fairest of halls should be flung open for the harbourage of speech and should be full of praise and laudation, re-echoing softly like a cavern, following what is said, drawing out the concluding sounds of the voice and lingering on the last words; or, to put it better, committing to memory all that one says, like an appreciative hearer, and applauding the speaker and gracefully repeating his phrases. In some such way the rocks pipe in answer to the piping of the shepherds when the sound comes back again by repercussion and returns upon itself. The untaught think it is a maid who answers all who sing and shout,

¹ Telemachus (*Odys.* 4, 71): he compares the house of Menelaus to the palaces of the gods.

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βοῶντας, ἐν μέσοις που τοῖς κρημνοῖς κατοικοῦσαν
καὶ λαλοῦσαν ἐκ τῶν πετρῶν ἔνδοθεν.

Ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ καὶ συνεξαίρεσθαι οἶκου 4
πολυτελείᾳ ἢ τοῦ λέγοντος γνώμη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
λόγους ἐπεγείρεσθαι, καθάπερ τι καὶ ὑποβαλ-
λούσης τῆς θέας· σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰσρεῖ τι διὰ τῶν
ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καλόν, εἶτα πρὸς αὐτὸ
κοσμήσαν ἐκπέμπει τοὺς λόγους. ἢ τῷ μὲν
Ἀχιλλεῖ πιστεύομεν τὴν ὄψιν τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐπι-
τείνειν κατὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν τὴν ὀργήν, καὶ ἐπεὶ
ἐνέδν αὐτὰ πειρώμενος, ἐπαρθῆναι καὶ πτερωθῆναι
πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἐπιθυμίαν, λόγου δὲ
σπουδὴν μὴ ἐπιτείνεσθαι πρὸς κάλλη χωρίων;
καίτοι Σωκράτει μὲν ἀπέχρησε πλάτανος εὐφυῆς
καὶ πῶα εὐθαλῆς καὶ πηγὴ διαυγῆς μικρὸν ὑπὸ
τοῦ Ἰλισσοῦ, κἀνταῦθα καθεζόμενος Φαῖδρου τε
τοῦ Μυρρινουσίου κατειρωνεύετο καὶ τὸν Λυσίου
τοῦ Κεφάλου λόγον διήλεγχε καὶ τὰς Μούσας
ἐκάλει, καὶ ἐπίστευεν ἥξειν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν
συλληφόμενας¹ τῶν περὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος λόγων, καὶ
οὐκ ἤσχυνετο γέρων ἄνθρωπος παρακαλῶν παρ-
θένους συνασομένας² τὰ παιδεραστικά. ἐς δὲ οὕτω
καλὸν χωρίον οὐκ ἂν οἴομεθα³ καὶ ἀκλήτους αὐτὰς
ἐλθεῖν;

Καὶ μὴν οὐ κατὰ γε σκιὰν μόνην οὐδὲ κατὰ 5
πλατάνου κάλλος ἢ ὑποδοχή, οὐδ' ἂν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ
Ἰλισσῷ καταλιπὼν τὴν βασιλέως λέγῃς τὴν
χρυσήν· ἐκείνης μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πολυτελείᾳ μόνη
τὸ θαῦμα, τέχνη δὲ ἢ κάλλος ἢ τέρψις ἢ τὸ

¹ συλληφόμενας Nilén : συμπεριληφόμενας MSS.

² συνασομένας Schwartz : συνεσομένας MSS.

³ οἴομεθα Γ, S : οἴώμεθα Ω.

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abiding somewhere in the heart of the cliffs and talking from the inside of the crags.

To me, at least, it seems that a splendid hall excites the speaker's fancy and stirs it to speech, as if he were somehow prompted by what he sees. No doubt something of beauty flows through the eyes into the soul, and then fashions into the likeness of itself the words that it sends out. In the case of Achilles, the sight of his armour enhanced his anger at the Trojans, and when he put it on to try it, he was inspired and transported with the lust of battle.¹ Then are we to believe that the passion for speech is not enhanced by beautiful surroundings? Socrates was satisfied with a fine plane-tree and lush grass and a spring of clear water not far from the Ilissus: sitting there, he plied his irony at the expense of Phaedrus of Myrrhinus, criticised the speech of Lysias, son of Cephalus, and invoked the Muses, believing that they would come to a sequestered spot and take part in the debate on love, and thinking no shame, old as he was, to invite maids to join him in amorous ditties.² May we not suppose that they would come to a place as beautiful as this, even without an invitation?

In truth, our shelter is not to be compared with mere shade or with the beauty of a plane-tree, not even if you pass over the one on the Ilissus and mention the Great King's golden plane.³ That was wonderful only on account of its cost; there was no

¹ *Iliad*, 19, 16; 384. ² Plato, *Phaedrus*, 229 seq.

³ Herod. 7, 27.

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σύμμετρον ἢ τὸ εὐρυθμον οὐ συνείργαστο οὐδὲ κατεμέμικτο τῷ χρυσῷ, ἀλλ' ἦν βαρβαρικὸν τὸ θέαμα, πλοῦτος μόνον καὶ φθόνος τῶν ἰδόντων καὶ εὐδαιμονισμὸς τῶν ἐχόντων· ἔπαινος δὲ οὐδαμοῦ προσῆν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔμελε τοῖς Ἀρσακίδαις τῶν καλῶν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἐπιδείξεις οὐδ' ἐφρόντιζον εἰ ἐπαινέσονται οἱ θεαταί, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐκπλαγῆσονται. οὐ φιλόκαλοι γάρ, ἀλλὰ φιλόπλουτοί εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι. τούτου δὲ τοῦ οἴκου τὸ κάλλος οὐ κατὰ βαρβαρικούς τινας ὀφθαλμούς οὐδὲ κατὰ Περσικὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἢ βασιλικὴν μεγαλαυχίαν οὐδὲ πένητος μόνον, ἀλλὰ εὐφυοῦς θεατοῦ δεόμενον καὶ ὅτῳ μὴ ἐν τῇ ὄψει ἢ κρίσει, ἀλλὰ τις καὶ λογισμὸς ἐπακολουθεῖ τοῖς βλεπομένοις.¹

Τὸ γὰρ τῆς τε ἡμέρας πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον ἀποβλέπειν—κάλλιστον δὲ² αὐτῆς καὶ ποθεινότατον ἢ ἀρχή—καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὑπερκύψαντα εὐθὺς ὑποδέχσθαι καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐμπίπλασθαι ἐς κόρον ἀναπεπταμένων τῶν θυρῶν [καθ' ὃ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ βλέποντα ἐποιοῦν οἱ παλαιοί],³ καὶ τὸ τοῦ μήκους πρὸς τὸ πλάτος καὶ ἀμφοῖν πρὸς τὸ ὕψος εὐρυθμον καὶ τῶν φωταγωγῶν τὸ ἐλεύθερον καὶ πρὸς ὥραν ἐκάστην εὐ ἔχον, πῶς οὐχ ἡδέα ταῦτα πάντα καὶ ἐπαινῶν ἄξια;

Ἔτι δὲ θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις καὶ τῆς ὀροφῆς ἐν τῷ εὐμόρφῳ τὸ ἀπέριττον κὰν τῷ εὐκόσμῳ τὸ ἀνεπίληπτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐς τὸ εὐπρεπὲς

¹ βλεπομένοις Seager : λεγομένοις MSS.

² δὲ A.M.H. : δὲ MSS.

³ καθ' ὃ—παλαιοί "in the direction in which the ancients used to face their temples": a gloss on τὸ...ἀποβλέπειν. A. M. H.

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craftsmanship or beauty or charm or symmetry or grace wrought into the gold or combined with it. The thing was barbarous, nothing but money, a source of envy to those who saw it, and of felicitation to those who owned it. There was nothing praiseworthy about it. The Arsacids¹ neither cared for beauty nor aimed at attractiveness in making their display nor minded whether the spectators praised or not, as long as they were astounded. The barbarians are not beauty-lovers; they are money-lovers. On the contrary, the beauty of this hall has nothing to do with barbarian eyes, Persian flattery, or Sultanic vainglory. Instead of just a poor man, it wants a cultured man for a spectator, who, instead of judging with his eyes, applies thought to what he sees.

It faces the fairest quarter of the day (for the fairest and loveliest is surely the beginning); it welcomes in the sun when he first peeps up; light fills it to overflowing through the wide-flung doors; the proportion of length to breadth and of both to height is harmonious; the windows are generous and well-suited to every season of the year. Is not all this attractive and praiseworthy?

One might also admire the ceiling for its reserved modelling, its flawless decoration, and the refined symmetry of its gilding, which is not unnecessarily

¹ Anachronism; the possessors of the tree were the Achæmenid princes.

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σύμμετρον, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ¹ τὰς χρείας ἐπίφθονον, ἀλλ' ὅπόσον ἂν καὶ γυναικὶ σώφρονι καὶ καλῇ ἀρκέσῃ ἐπισημότερον ἐργάσασθαι τὸ κάλλος, ἢ περὶ τῇ δειρῇ λεπτός τις ὄρμος ἢ περὶ τῷ δακτύλῳ σφενδόνη εὐφορος ἢ ἐν τοῖν ὧτοι ἐλλόβια ἢ πόρπη τις ἢ ταινία τὸ ἄφետον τῆς κόμης συνδέουσα, τοσοῦτον τῇ εὐμορφίᾳ προστιθείσα ὅσον τῇ ἐσθῇτι ἢ πορφύρα· αἱ δέ γε ἐταῖραι, καὶ μάλιστα αἱ ἀμορφότεραι αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὅλην πορφυρᾶν καὶ τὴν δειρὴν χρυσὴν πεποίηνται, τῷ πολυτελεῖ θηρώμεναι τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν καὶ τὸ ἐνδέον τῷ καλῷ προσθέσει τοῦ ἔξωθεν τερπνοῦ παραμυθούμεναι· ἡγοῦνται γὰρ καὶ τὴν ὠλένην αὐταῖς στιλπνοτέραν φανεῖσθαι συναπολάμπουσιν τῷ χρυσῷ καὶ τοῦ ποδὸς τὸ μὴ εὐπερίγραφον λήσειν ὑπὸ χρυσῷ σανδάλῳ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτὸ ἐρασμιώτερον γενήσεσθαι τῷ φαεινοτάτῳ συνωρώμενον. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖναι μὲν οὕτως· ἡ δέ γε σώφρων χρυσῷ² μὲν τὰ ἀρκοῦντα καὶ μόνον τὰ ἀναγκαῖα προσχρήται, τὸ δ' αὐτῆς κάλλος οὐκ ἂν αἰσχύνοιτο, οἶμαι, καὶ γυμνὴ δεικνύουσα.

Καὶ τοίνυν ἢ τοῦδε τοῦ οἴκου ὄροφῇ, μᾶλλον 8
δὲ κεφαλῇ, εὐπρόσωπος μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτήν, τῷ χρυσῷ δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον κεκόσμηται, ἐς ὅσον καὶ οὐρανὸς ἐν νυκτὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐκ διαστήματος περιλαμπόμενος καὶ ἐκ διαλείμματος ἀνθῶν τῷ πυρί. εἰ δέ γε πῦρ ἦν τὸ πᾶν, οὐ καλὸς ἂν, ἀλλὰ φοβερός ἡμῖν ἔδοξεν. ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις οὐδ' ἀργὸν ἐνταῦθα τὸν χρυσὸν οὐδὲ μόνου τοῦ τέρποντος εἵνεκα τῷ λοιπῷ κόσμῳ συνεσπαρμένον, ἀλλὰ

¹ παρὰ Gesner : περὶ MSS.

² σώφρων χρυσῷ edd. : σώφρων οὐκία χρυσῷ MSS.

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lavish, but only in such degree as would suffice a modest and beautiful woman to set off her beauty—a delicate chain round her neck, a light ring on her finger, pendants in her ears, a buckle, a band that confines the luxuriance of her hair and adds as much to her good looks as a purple border adds to a gown. It is courtesans, especially the less attractive of them, who have clothing all purple and necks all gold, trying to secure seductiveness by extravagance and to make up for their lack of beauty by the addition of extraneous charms; they think that their arms will look whiter when they are bright with gold, and that the unshapeliness of their feet will escape notice in golden sandals, and that their very faces will be lovelier when seen together with something very bright. This is the course they follow; but a modest girl uses only what gold is sufficient and necessary, and would not be ashamed of her beauty, I am sure, if she were to show it unadorned.

The ceiling of this hall—call it the face if you will—well-featured itself, is as much embellished by the gilding as heaven by the stars at night, with sprinkled lights and scattered flowers of fire. If all were fire, it would be terrible, not beautiful, to us. You will observe that the gilding yonder is not purposeless, and not intermingled with the rest of the decorations for its own charm alone. It shines with a

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καὶ αὐγὴν τινα ἡδεΐαν ἀπολάμπει καὶ τὸν οἶκον ὅλον ἐπιχρώννυσι τῷ ἐρυθρήματι· ὁπόταν γὰρ τὸ φῶς προσπεσὸν ἐφάψηται καὶ ἀναμιχθῇ τῷ χρυσῷ, κοινόν τι ἀπαστράπτουσι καὶ διπλασίαν τοῦ ἐρυθρήματος ἐκφαίνουσι τὴν αἰθρίαν.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑψηλὰ καὶ κορυφαῖα τοῦ οἴκου 9 τοιάδε, Ὀμήρου τινὸς δεόμενα ἐπαινέτου, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἢ ὑψώροφον ὡς τὸν Ἑλένης θάλαμον ἢ αἰγλήεντα ὡς τὸν Ὀλυμπον εἴποι· τὸν δὲ ἄλλον κόσμον καὶ τὰ τῶν τοίχων γράμματα καὶ τῶν χρωμάτων τὰ κάλλη καὶ τὸ ἐναργὲς ἐκάστου καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔαρος ὄψει καὶ λειμῶνι δὲ εὐανθεῖ καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι παραβαλεῖν· πλὴν παρ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἀπανθεῖ καὶ μαραίνεται καὶ ἀλλάττεται καὶ ἀποβάλλει τὸ κάλλος, τουτὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ¹ αἰδίου καὶ λειμῶν ἀμάραντος καὶ ἄνθος ἀθάνατον, ἅτε μόνης τῆς ὄψεως ἐφαπτομένης καὶ δρεπομένης τὸ ἡδὺ τῶν βλεπομένων.

Τὰ δὲ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα τίς οὐκ ἂν 10 ἡσθεῖη βλέπων ἢ τίς οὐκ ἂν προθυμηθεῖη καὶ παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἐν αὐτοῖς λέγειν, εἰδὼς αἰσχιστον ὄν ἀπολειφθῆναι τῶν ὀρωμένων; ἐπαγωγότατον γάρ τι ἢ ὄψις τῶν καλῶν, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππος ἡδίου ἂν οἶμαι δράμοι κατὰ πρανοῦς πεδίου καὶ μαλακοῦ, προσηνῶς δεχομένου τὴν βάσιν καὶ ἡρέμα ὑπείκοντος τῷ ποδὶ καὶ μὴ ἀντιτυποῦντος τῇ ὀπλῇ· ἀπαντι γοῦν τότε χρῆται τῷ δρόμῳ καὶ ὅλον ἐπιδούς ἑαυτὸν τῷ τάχει ἀμιλλᾶται καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κάλλος. ὁ δὲ ταῶς ἥρος ἄρχομένου πρὸς λειμῶνά 11

¹ ἔαρ and ἄνθος Schwartz; τὸ ἔαρ, τὸ ἄνθος MSS.

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sweet radiance, and colours the whole hall with its flush ; for when the light, striking the gold, lays hold of it and combines with it, they gleam jointly and make the flush doubly brilliant.

Such is the top, the summit of the hall : it needs a Homer to praise it by calling it "high-ceiled" like the chamber of Helen¹ or "dazzling" like Olympus.² The rest of the decoration, the frescoes on the walls, the beauty of their colours, and the vividness, exactitude, and truth of each detail might well be compared with the face of spring and with a flowery field, except that those things fade and wither and change and cast their beauty, while this is spring eternal, field unfading, bloom undying. Naught but the eye touches it and culls the sweetness of what it sees.

Who would not be charmed with the sight of all these beautiful things? Who would not want to outdo himself in speaking among them, aware that it is highly disgraceful not to be a match for that which one sees? The sight of beauty is seductive, and not to man alone. Even a horse, I think, would find more pleasure in running on a soft, sloping plain that receives his tread pleasantly, yields a little to his foot, and does not shock his hoof. Then he puts in play all his power of running, gives himself over to speed and nothing else, and vies with the beauty of the plain. The peacock, too, at the opening

¹ *Il.* 3, 423 ; *Od.* 4, 121.

² *Il.* 1, 253 ; 13, 243 ; *Od.* 20, 103.

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τινα ἐλθών, ὁπότε καὶ τὰ ἄνθη πρόεισιν οὐ ποθεινότερα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις ἀνθηρότερα καὶ τὰς βαφὰς καθαρώτερα, τότε καὶ οὗτος ἐκπετάσας τὰ πτερὰ καὶ ἀναδείξας τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν ἐπάρας καὶ πάντοθεν αὐτῷ περιστήσας ἐπιδείκνυται τὰ ἄνθη τὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἕαρ τῶν πτερῶν ὥσπερ αὐτὸν προκαλοῦντος τοῦ λειμῶνος ἐς τὴν ἄμιλλαν· ἐπιστρέφει γοῦν ἑαυτὸν καὶ περιάγει καὶ ἐμπομπεύει τῷ κάλλει· ὅτε δὴ καὶ θαυμασιώτερος φαίνεται πρὸς τὴν αὐγὴν ἀλλαττομένων αὐτῷ τῶν χρωμάτων καὶ μεταβαινόντων ἡρέμα καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον εὐμορφίας εἶδος τρεπομένων. πᾶσχει δὲ αὐτὸ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν κύκλων, οὓς ἐπ' ἄκροις ἔχει τοῖς πτεροῖς, ἱριδὸς τινος ἕκαστον περιθεούσης· ὃ γὰρ τέως χαλκὸς ἦν, τοῦτο ἐγκλίναντος ὀλίγον χρυσὸς ὤφθη, καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τῷ ἡλίῳ κυαναυγές, εἰ σκιασθείη, χλοαυγές ἐστίν· οὕτω μετακοσμεῖται πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἡ πτέρωσις. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡ θάλαττα ἱκανὴ 12 προκαλέσασθαι καὶ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπισπάσασθαι ἐν γαλήνῃ φανείσα, ἵστε, κἂν μὴ εἴπω· ὅτε, εἰ καὶ παντάπασιν ἡπειρώτης καὶ ἀπειρόπλους τις εἴη, πάντως ἂν ἐθελήσειε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμβῆναι καὶ περιπλεῦσαι καὶ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀποσπάσαι, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ βλέποι τὴν μὲν αὔραν κούφως ἐπουριάζουσιν τὴν ὀθόνην, τὴν δὲ ναῦν προσηνῶς τε καὶ λείως ἐπ' ἄκρων ἡρέμα διολισθάνουσιν τῶν κυμάτων.

Καὶ τοῖνυν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ οἴκου τὸ κάλλος 13 ἱκανὸν καὶ παρορμῆσαι ἐς λόγους καὶ λέγοντα ἐπεγεῖραι καὶ πάντα τρόπον εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρασκευάσαι. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τούτοις πείθομαι καὶ ἤδη

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of spring goes to a field at the time when the blossoms which it puts out are not only lovelier, but, in a manner of speaking, more blossomy and brighter of hue ; spreading his wings and showing them to the sun, lifting his tail and surrounding himself with it, he, too, displays his blossoms and the April of his wings, as if the field were challenging him to vie with it. At all events, he twists and turns and puts on airs with his beauty. Now and again he is a sight still more wonderful, when his colours change under the light, altering a little and turning to a different kind of loveliness. This happens to him chiefly in the circles that he has at the tips of his feathers, each of which is ringed with a rainbow. What was previously bronze has the look of gold when he shifts a little, and what was bright blue in the sun is bright green in shadow, so much does the beauty of his plumage alter with the light ! ' For you know without my telling you that the sea has power to invite and provoke longing when it is calm. At such a time, no matter how much of a landsman and a lubber a man may be, he wants at all costs to get aboard ship and cruise about and go far from land, above all if he perceives the breeze gently swelling the canvas and the vessel sweetly and smoothly gliding along, little by little, over the crest of the waves.

Certainly, then, the beauty of this hall has power to rouse a man to speech, to spur him on in speaking and to make him succeed in every way. I for my part am trusting in all this and have already

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πέπεισμαι καὶ ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐπὶ λόγοις παρελήλυθα ὥσπερ ὑπὸ Ἰνγγος ἢ Σειρήνιος τῷ κάλλει ἐλκόμενος, ἐλπίδα οὐ μικρὰν ἔχων, εἰ καὶ τέως ἡμῖν ἄμορφοι ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι, καλοὺς αὐτοὺς φανείσθαι καθάπερ ἐσθῆτι καλῇ κεκοσμημένους.

Ἔτερος δέ τις οὐκ ἀγεννὴς λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ 14
πάνυ γεναῖος, ὥς φησι, καὶ μεταξὺ μου λέγοντος ὑπέκρουε καὶ διακοπτειν ἐπειράτο τὴν ῥῆσιν καὶ ἐπειδὴ πέπαυμαι, οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα λέγειν φησὶ με, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζειν, εἰ φάσκοιμι ἐπιτηδειότερον εἶναι πρὸς λόγων ἐπίδειξιν οἴκου κάλλος γραφῇ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένον· αὐτὸ γάρ που τούναντίον ἀποβαίνειν. μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ δοκεῖ, αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὁ λόγος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καθάπερ ἐν δικασταῖς ὑμῖν εἰπάτω, ὅπη λυσιτελέστερον ἡγείται τῷ λέγοντι εὐτέλειαν οἴκου καὶ ἀμορφίαν. ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀκηκόατε ἤδη λέγοντος, ὥστε οὐδὲν δέομαι δις περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν ἤδη λεγέτω, καὶ γὰρ σιωπήσομαι καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον αὐτῷ μεταστήσομαι.

Ἄνδρες τοίνυν δικασταί, φησὶν ὁ λόγος, ὁ 15
μὲν προειπὼν ῥήτωρ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τόνδε τὸν οἶκον ἐπήνεσε καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ ἐκόσμησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου δέω ψόγον αὐτοῦ διεξελεύσεσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου παραλελειμμένα προσθήσειν μοι δοκῶ· ὅσφι γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν καλλίων φαίνεται, τοσῶδε ὑπεναντίος τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος χρεῖα δειχθήσεται.

Καὶ πρῶτόν γε ἐπειδὴ γυναικῶν καὶ κόσμου καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐκεῖνος ἐμνημόνευσεν, κάμοι ἐπιτρέψατε χρήσασθαι τῷ παραδείγματι· φημὶ γὰρ οὐν καὶ γυναιξὶ καλαῖς οὐχ ὅπως συλλαμ-

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trusted in it; in coming to the hall to speak, I was attracted by its beauty as by a magic wheel or a Siren, for I had no slight hope that even if my phrases were homely before, they would seem beautiful if adorned, so to speak, in fine clothing.

There is, however, another point of view, not insignificant but very important, if you take Mr. Point o' View's word for it; he kept interrupting me as I spoke and trying to break up my speech, and now that I have paused he says that I am mistaken in this matter: he is surprised that I should say a beautiful hall adorned with painting and gilding is better suited for the display of eloquence, as the case is entirely the reverse. But if you approve, let Mr. Point o' View himself take the floor in his own behalf and tell you as he would a jury wherein he thinks a mean and ugly hall more advantageous to the speaker. You have heard me already, so that I do not need to speak again to the same topic; let him take the floor now and say his say, and I will be still and yield to him for a time.

"Well, gentlemen of the jury," says Mr. Point o' View, "the last speaker has made many striking points in praise of the hall, and has adorned it with his words. I myself am so far from intending to criticise it that I have in mind to add the points which he omitted, for the more beautiful you think it, the more hostile to the speaker's interest it will be, as I shall show.

"First, then, since he has mentioned women, jewelry and gold, permit me also to make use of the comparison. I assert that, far from contributing to the good looks of a beautiful woman, abundant

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βάνειν ἐς τὸ εὐμορφότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τὸν κόσμον τὸν πολύν, ὁπόταν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἕκαστος ὑπὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν πολυτελῶν ἐκπλαγεῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαινεῖν ἢ χροᾶν ἢ βλέμμα ἢ δειρὴν ἢ πῆχυν ἢ δάκτυλον, ὁ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀφείς ἐς τὴν σαρδὼ ἢ τὸν σμάραγδον ἢ τὸν ὄρμον ἢ τὸ ψέλιον ὑποβλέπη, ὥστε ἄχθοιτο ἂν εἰκότως παρορωμένη διὰ τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἀγόντων σχολὴν ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὴν τῶν θεατῶν, ἀλλὰ πάρεργον αὐτῆς ποιουμένων τὴν θέαν. ὅπερ ἀνάγκη, οἶμαι, 16 παθεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν οὕτω καλοῖς ἔργοις λόγους δεικνύοντα· λανθάνει γὰρ ἐν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν καλῶν τὸ λεχθὲν καὶ ἀμαυροῦται καὶ συναρπάζεται, καθάπερ εἰ λύχνον τις εἰς πυρκαϊᾶν μεγάλην φέρων ἐμβάλλοι ἢ μύρμηκα ἐπ' ἐλέφαντος ἢ καμήλου δεικνύοι. τοῦτό τε οὖν¹ φυλακτέον τῷ λέγοντι, καὶ προσέτι μὴ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιταράττηται² ἐν οὕτως εὐφώνῳ καὶ ἡχίηεντι οἴκῳ λέγων· ἀντιφθέγγεται γὰρ καὶ ἀντιφωνεῖ καὶ ἀντιλέγει, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπικαλύπτει τὴν βοήν, οἷόν τι καὶ σάλπιγξ δρᾷ τὸν αὐλόν, εἰ συναυλοῖεν, ἢ τοὺς κελευστὰς ἢ θάλαττα, ὁπόταν πρὸς κύματος ἤχον ἐπάδειν τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ θέλωσιν· ἐπικρατεῖ γὰρ ἡ μεγαλοφωνία καὶ κατασιωπᾷ τὸ ἡττον.

Καὶ μὴν κάκεῖνο, ὅπερ ἔφη ὁ ἀντίδικος, ὡς 17 ἄρα ἐπεγεῖρει ὁ καλὸς οἶκος τὸν λέγοντα καὶ προθυμότερον παρασκευάζει, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸ ἐναντίον ποιεῖν· ἐκπλήττει γὰρ καὶ φοβεῖ καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν διαταράττει καὶ δειλότερον ἐργάζεται ἐνθυμούμενον ὥς ἀπάντων ἐστὶν αἰσχιστον ἐν

¹ τε οὖν Bekker : γοῦν MSS.

² μὴ—ἐπιταράττηται Bekker : μὴν—ἐπιταράττεται MSS.

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jewelry is actually a detriment. Everyone who meets her is dazzled by her gold and her expensive gems, and instead of praising her complexion, her eyes, her neck, her arm or her finger, he neglects them and lets his eyes wander to her sard or her emerald, her necklace or her bracelet. She might fairly get angry at being thus slighted for her ornaments, when observers are too occupied to pay her compliments and think her looks a side-issue. The same thing is bound to happen, I think, to a man who tries to show his eloquence among works of art like these. Amid the mass of beautiful things, what he says goes unheeded, vanishes and is absorbed, as if a candle were taken to a great fire and thrown in, or an ant pointed out on the back of an elephant or a camel. This danger, certainly, the speaker must guard against, and also that his voice be not disturbed when he speaks in a hall so musical and echoing, for it resounds, replies, refutes—in fact, it drowns his utterance, just as the trumpet drowns the flute when they are played together, and as the sea drowns chanty-men when they undertake to sing for the rowers against the noise of the surf. For the great volume of sound overpowers and crushes into silence all that is weaker.

“As to the other point which my opponent made, that a beautiful hall spurs a speaker on and makes him more ambitious, I think it does the opposite. It dazzles and frightens him, disturbs his thought and makes him more timid, for he reflects that it is disgraceful beyond everything that his discourse

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εὐμόρφῳ χωρίῳ μὴ ὁμοίους φαίνεσθαι τοὺς λόγους. ἐλέγχων γὰρ οὗτός γε ὁ φανερώτατος, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις πανοπλίαν καλὴν ἐνδὺς ἔπειτα φεύγοι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπισημότερος ὢν δειλὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλων. τοῦτο δέ μοι δοκεῖ λογισάμενος καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ῥήτωρ ἐκείνος εὐμορφίας ἐλάχιστον φροντίσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ παντελῶς ἀτρεῖ φῶτι ἑαυτὸν ἀπεικάσαι, ἵνα αὐτῷ παραδοξότερον φαίνεται τῶν λόγων τὸ κάλλος ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀμορφότερον ἐξετάσεως. ἄλλως τε ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ τὴν τοῦ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν ἀσχολεῖσθαι περὶ τὴν θέαν καὶ τῆς φροντίδος τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐκλύειν τῆς ὀψευς ἐπικρατούσης καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν καλούσης καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσέχειν οὐκ ἐώσης. ὥστε τίς μηχανὴ μὴ οὐχὶ πάντως ἔλαττον εἶναι αὐτὸν τῆς ψυχῆς διατριβούσης περὶ τὸν τῶν ὀρωμένων ἐπαινον;

Ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ οἱ παρόντες αὐτοὶ 18
καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν παρειλημμένοι ἐπειδὰν εἰς τοιοῦτον οἶκον παρέλθωσιν, ἀντὶ ἀκροατῶν θεαταὶ καθίστανται, καὶ οὐχ οὕτω Δημόδοκος ἢ Φῆμιος ἢ Θάμυρις ἢ Ἀμφίων ἢ Ὀρφεὺς τις λέγων ἐστίν, ὥστε ἀποσπάσαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θέας· ἀλλ' οὖν ἕκαστος, ἐπειδὰν μόνον ὑπερβῇ τὸν οὐδόν, ἀθρόῳ τῷ κάλλει περιχυθεὶς λόγων μὲν ἐκείνων ἢ ἀκροάσεως ἄλλης¹ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αἰτοῦντι ἔοικεν, ὅλος δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ὀρωμένοις ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ τύχοι τις παντελῶς τυφλὸς. ὢν ἢ ἐν νυκτὶ ὥσπερ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ ποιοῖτο τὴν ἀκρόασιν. ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχον λόγων ἰσχὺς 19
ὄψει ἀνταγωνίσασθαι καὶ ὁ Σειρήνων μῦθος

¹ ἄλλης Schwartz: ἄλλ' MSS.

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should not match a plan so beautiful. For such surroundings put a man most clearly to the proof. It is as if he should put on a handsome coat of mail and then take to his heels before the rest, making his cowardice only the more conspicuous for his armour. This, I think, is the consideration which causes Homer's famous orator¹ to think very little of good-looks and even make himself appear 'an utter know-nothing' in order that the beauty of his words may seem more striking by comparison with that which is uglier. Besides, it is inevitable that the speaker's own mind should be occupied in looking, and that the accuracy of his thinking should be disturbed because what he is looking at gets the better of him, attracts him and does not allow him to attend to what he is saying. So how can he help speaking very badly, when in spirit he is busied with the praise of all that he sees?

"I forbear to say that even those who are present and have been invited to the lecture become spectators instead of hearers when they enter such a hall as this, and no speaker is enough of a Demodocus, a Phemius, a Thamyras, an Amphion or an Orpheus to distract their minds from looking. Why, every one of them is flooded with beauty the instant he crosses the threshold, and does not give the least sign of hearing² what the speaker says or anything else, but is all absorbed in what he sees, unless he is stone-blind or like the court of the Areopagus, listens in the dark! That the power of the tongue is no match for the eyes, one can learn by comparing

¹ Odysseus : *Il.* 3, 219.

² *Il.* 23, 430.

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παρατεθείς τῷ περὶ τῶν Γοργόνων διδάξειεν ἄν·
 ἐκείναι μὲν γὰρ ἐκήλουν τοὺς παραπλέοντας
 μελωδοῦσαι καὶ κολακεύουσai τοῖς ᾄσμασιν καὶ
 καταπλεύσαντας ἐπὶ πολὺ κατεῖχον, καὶ ὅλως τὸ
 ἔργον αὐτῶν ἐδεῖτό τινος διατριβῆς, καὶ πού τις
 αὐτὰς καὶ παρέπλευσε καὶ τοῦ μέλους παρήκουσε·
 τὸ δὲ τῶν Γοργόνων κάλλος, ἅτε βιαιότατόν τε ὦν
 καὶ τοῖς καιριωτάτοις τῆς ψυχῆς ὀμιλοῦν, εὐθὺς
 ἐξίστη τοὺς ἰδόντας καὶ ἀφώνους ἐποίει, ὥς δὲ ὁ
 μῦθος βούλεται καὶ λέγεται, λίθινοι ἐγίνοντο
 ὑπὸ θαύματος. ὥστε καὶ ὦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταῶ λόγον
 εἶπε πρὸς ὑμᾶς μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν, ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ
 εἰρήσθαι νομίζω· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνον ἐν τῇ ὄψει, οὐκ
 ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τὸ τερπνόν. καὶ εἴ γέ τις παραστη-
 σάμενος τὴν ἀηδόνα ἢ τὸν κύκνον ᾄδεν κελεύοι,
 μεταξὺ δὲ ἀδόντων παραδείξειε τὸν ταῶ σιω-
 πῶντα, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπ' ἐκείνον μεταβήσεται ἡ
 ψυχὴ μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσασα τοῖς ἐκείνων
 ᾄσμασιν· οὕτως ἄμαχόν τι ἔοικεν εἶναι ἢ
 δι' ὄψεως ἡδονή. καὶ ἔγωγε, εἰ βούλεσθε, 20
 μάρτυρα ὑμῖν παραστήσομαι σοφὸν ἄνδρα, ὃς
 αὐτίκα μοι μαρτυρήσει ὥς πολὺ ἐπικρατέστερά
 ἐστὶ τῶν ἀκουομένων τὰ ὀρώμενα. καὶ μοι σὺ
 ἤδη ὁ κῆρυξ προσκάλει αὐτὸν Ἡρόδοτον Λύξου
 Ἀλικαρνασόθεν· κάπειδὴ καλῶς ποιῶν ὑπήκουσε,
 μαρτυρεῖτω παρελθὼν· ἀναδέξασθε δὲ αὐτὸν
 Ἰαστὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγοντα ὥσπερ αὐτῷ ἔθος.
 Ἀληθεῖα τάδε ὁ λόγος ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες δικασταί,
 μυθέεται καὶ οἱ πείθεσθε ὅσα ἂν λέγῃ τουτέων
 πέρι ὅψιν ἀκοῆς προτιμέων· ὧτα γὰρ τυγχάνει
 ἔόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν.

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the story of the Sirens with the one about the Gorgons. The Sirens charmed passing voyagers by making music and working on them with songs, and held them long when they put in. In short, their performance only exacted a delay, and no doubt one or another voyager went by them, neglecting their music. On the contrary, the beauty of the Gorgons, being extremely powerful and affecting the very vitals of the soul, stunned its beholders and made them speechless, so that, as the story has it and everyone says, they turned to stone in wonder. For this reason I count what my opponent said to you a moment ago about the peacock a plea for my side: surely his attractiveness is in his looks, not in his voice! If anybody should match a nightingale or a swan against him, letting them sing and showing the peacock silent while they were singing, I know well that your soul would go over to him, bidding a long farewell to their songs. So invincible, it seems, is the delight of the eyes! If you wish, I will produce you a witness in the person of a sage, who will testify on the spot that what one sees is far more effective than what one hears. Crier, summon in person Herodotus, son of Lyxus, of Halicarnassus. Since he has been so kind as to comply, let him take the stand and give his testimony. Suffer him to speak to you in Ionic, to which he is accustomed.

“‘Master Point o’ View telleth ye true herein. Believe whatso he sayeth to this matter, esteeming sight over hearing, for in sooth ears be less trusty than eyes.’¹

¹ Only the last clause is really Herodotean (I, 8, 3).

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Ἀκούετε τοῦ μάρτυρος ἃ φησιν, ὡς τὰ πρῶτα τῇ ὄψει ἀπέδωκεν; εἰκότως. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔπεα πτεροεντά ἐστι καὶ οἴχεται ἅμα τῷ προελθεῖν ἀποπτάμενα, ἡ δὲ τῶν ὀρωμένων τέρψις αἰὲ παρυστώσα καὶ παραμένουσα πάντως τὸν θεατὴν ὑπάγεται.

Πῶς οὖν οὐ χαλεπὸς τῷ λέγοντι ἀνταγωνιστῆς οἶκος οὕτω καλὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος ὢν; μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον οὐδέπω φημί· ὑμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἱ δικασταὶ καὶ μεταξὺ λεγόντων ἡμῶν ἐς τὴν ὀροφὴν ἀπεβλέπετε καὶ τοὺς τοίχους ἐθαυμάζετε καὶ τὰς γραφὰς ἐξητάζετε πρὸς ἐκάστην ἀποστρεφόμενοι. καὶ μηδὲν αἰσχυνθῆτε· συγγνώμη γάρ, εἴ τι ἀνθρώπινον πεπόνθατε, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς οὕτω καλὰς καὶ ποικίλας τὰς ὑποθέσεις. τῆς γὰρ τέχνης τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ τῆς ἱστορίας μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τὸ ὠφέλιμον ἐπαγωγὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ πεπαιδευμένων θεατῶν δεόμενον. καὶ ἵνα μὴ πάντα ἐκεῖσε ἀποβλέπητε ἡμᾶς ἀπολιπόντες, φέρε ὡς οἶόν τε γράψωμαι¹ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν τῷ λόγῳ· ἡσθήσεσθε γάρ, οἶμαι, ἀκούοντες ἃ καὶ ὀρῶντες θαυμάζετε. καὶ ἴσως ἂν με καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐπαινέσαιτε καὶ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου προτιμήσαιτε, ὡς καὶ² αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξαντα καὶ διπλασιάσαντα³ ὑμῖν τὴν ἡδονήν. τὸ χαλεπὸν δὲ τοῦ τολμήματος ὁρᾶτε, εὐχρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων καὶ τόπου συστήσασθαι τοσαύτας εἰκόνας· ψιλὴ γάρ τις ἡ γραφὴ τῶν λόγων.

¹ γράψωμαι MSS.: γράψομαι Guyet.

² ὡς καὶ Reitz: ὡς μὴ καὶ MSS. edd. since Jacobitz.

³ αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξαντα καὶ διπλασιάσαντα MSS.: αὐτοῦ ἐπιδείξαντος καὶ διπλασιάσαντος edd. since Jacobitz, with two Renaissance codices and the first edition.

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“Do you hear what the witness says, that he gives the palm to sight? With reason, for words are winged and go flying off the instant they have left the lips, while the beauty of things seen is always present and lasting and entices the spectator, will he, nill he.

“Is not then a hall so beautiful and admirable a dangerous adversary to a speaker? But I have not yet mentioned the principal point. You yourselves, gentlemen of the jury, have been regarding the roof as we spoke, admiring the walls and examining the pictures, turning toward each of them. Do not be ashamed! It is excusable if you have felt a touch of human nature, especially in the presence of pictures so beautiful and so varied. The exactness of their technique and the combination of antiquarian interest and instructiveness in their subjects are truly seductive and call for a cultivated spectator. That you may not look exclusively in that direction and leave us in the lurch, I will do my best to paint you a word-picture of them, for I think you will be glad to hear about things which you look at with admiration. Perhaps you will even applaud me for it and prefer me to my opponent, saying that I have displayed my powers as well as he, and that I have made your pleasure double. But the difficulty of the task is patent, to represent so many pictures without colour, form or space. Word-painting is but a bald thing.

Ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν οὖν εἰσιόντι Ἀργολικῷ μύθῳ 22
 ἀναμέμικται πάθος Αἰθιοπικόν· ὁ Περσεὺς τὸ
 κῆτος φονεύει καὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν καθαιρεῖ, καὶ
 μετὰ μικρὸν γαμήσει καὶ ἄπεισιν αὐτὴν ἄγων·
 πάρεργον τοῦτο τῆς ἐπὶ Γοργόνας πτήσεως. ἐν
 βραχεὶ δὲ πολλὰ ὁ τεχνίτης ἐμιμήσατο, αἰδῶ
 παρθένου καὶ φόβον—ἐπισκοπεῖ γὰρ μάχην ἄνω-
 θεν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας¹—καὶ νεανίου τόλμαν ἐρωτικὴν
 καὶ θηρίου ὄψιν ἀπρόσμαχον· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔπεισι
 πεφρικὸς ταῖς ἀκάνθαις καὶ δεδιττόμενον τῷ
 χάσματι, ὁ Περσεὺς δὲ τῇ λαιᾷ μὲν προδείκνυσιν
 τὴν Γοργόνα, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ καθικνεῖται τῷ ξίφει·
 καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅσον τοῦ κήτους εἶδε τὴν Μέδουσαν,
 ἤδη λίθος ἐστίν, τὸ δ' ὅσον ἔμψυχον μένει, τῇ
 ἄρπῃ κόπτεται.

Ἐξῆς δὲ μετὰ τήνδε τὴν εἰκόνα ἕτερον δρᾶμα 23
 γέγραπται δικαιότατον, οὗ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ὁ
 γραφεὺς παρ' Εὐριπίδου ἢ Σοφοκλέους δοκεῖ
 μοι λαβεῖν· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ὁμοίαν ἔγραφαν τὴν
 εἰκόνα. τὼ νεανία τὼ ἐταίρω Πυλάδης τε ὁ
 Φωκεὺς καὶ Ὀρέστης δοκῶν ἤδη τεθνάναι λα-
 θόντ' ἐς τὰ βασίλεια² παρελθόντε φονεύουσιν
 ἄμφω τὸν Αἰγισθον· ἡ δὲ Κλυταιμῆστρα ἤδη
 ἀνήρηται καὶ ἐπ' εὐνῆς τινος ἡμίγυμνος πρόκειται
 καὶ θεραπεία πᾶσα ἐκπεπληγμένοι τὸ ἔργον οἱ μὲν
 ὥσπερ βοῶσιν, οἱ δὲ τινες ὅπη φύγωσι περιβλέ-
 πουσι. σεμνὸν δέ τι ὁ γραφεὺς ἐπενόησεν, τὸ μὲν
 ἀσεβὲς τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως δείξας μόνον καὶ ὡς ἤδη

¹ Punctuation A.M.H.

² Text Cobet : λαθόντε τὰ βασίλεια καὶ MSS.

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“On the right as you come in, you have a combination of Argolic myth and Ethiopian romance. Perseus is killing the sea-monster and freeing Andromeda; in a little while he will marry her and go away with her. It is an incident to his winged quest of the Gorgons. The artist has represented much in little—the maid’s modesty and terror (for she is looking down on the fight from the cliff overhead), the lad’s fond courage and the beast’s unconquerable mien. As he comes on bristling with spines and inspiring terror with his gaping jaws Perseus displays the Gorgon in his left hand, and with his right assails him with the sword: the part of the monster which has seen the Medusa is already stone, and the part that is still alive is feeling the hanger’s edge.¹

“Next to this picture is portrayed another righteous deed, for which the painter derived his model, I suppose, from Euripides or Sophocles, inasmuch as they have portrayed the subject in the same way.² The two youthful comrades Pylades of Phocis and Orestes (supposed to be dead) have secretly entered the palace and are slaying Aegisthus. Clytemnestra is already slain and is stretched on a bed half-naked, and the whole household is stunned by the deed—some are shouting, apparently, and others casting about for a way of escape. It was a noble device on the painter’s part simply to indicate the impious element in the undertaking and pass it over as an

¹ Cf. Claudian (*Gigantom.* 113), of a giant slain by Athena: *pars moritur ferro, partes periere videndo*. An echo of the same source?

² In the *Electra* of each. But this description is modelled on Sophocles (1424 ff.).

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πεπραγμένον παραδραμών, ἐμβραδύνοντας δὲ τοὺς
νεανίσκους ἐργασάμενος τῷ τοῦ μοιχοῦ φόνῳ.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο θεός ἐστιν εὖμορφος καὶ 24
μειράκιον ὥραϊον, ἐρωτικὴ τις παιδιά· ὁ Βράγχος
ἐπὶ πέτρας καθεζόμενος ἀνέχει λαγὼν καὶ προσ-
παίζει τὸν κύνα, ὁ δὲ πηδησομένῳ ἔοικεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
εἰς τὸ ὕψος, καὶ Ἀπόλλων παρεστὼς μειδιᾷ τερ-
πόμενος ἀμφοῖν καὶ τῷ παιδί παίζουντι καὶ πειρω-
μένῳ τῷ κυνί.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ Περσεὺς πάλιν τὰ πρὸ 25
τοῦ κήτους ἐκείνα τολμῶν καὶ ἡ Μέδουσα τεμ-
νομένη τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ Ἀθηναῖ σκέπουσα τὸν
Περσεά· ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν τόλμαν εἵργασται, τὸ δὲ
ἔργον οὐχ ἑώρακεν, πλὴν¹ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος τῆς
Γοργόνης τὴν εἰκόνα· οἶδε γὰρ τὸ πρόστιμον τῆς
ἀληθοῦς ὄψεως.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν μέσον τοῖχον ἄνω τῆς ἀντι- 26
θύρου² Ἀθηναῖς ναὸς πεποιήται, ἡ θεὸς λίθου
λευκοῦ, τὸ σχῆμα οὐ πολεμιστήριον, ἀλλ' οἶον
ἂν γένοιτο εἰρήνην ἀγούσης θεοῦ πολεμικῆς.

Εἶτα μετὰ ταύτην ἄλλη Ἀθηναῖ, οὐ λίθος 27
αὕτη γε, ἀλλὰ γραφὴ πάλιν· Ἡφαιστος αὐτὴν
διώκει ἐρῶν, ἡ δὲ φεύγει, κακὴ τῆς διώξεως
Ἐριχθόνιος γίγνεται.

Ταύτη ἔπεται παλαιά τις ἄλλη γραφὴ· Ὀρίων 28
φέρει τὸν Κηδαλίωνα τυφλὸς ὢν, ὁ δ' αὐτῷ
σημαίνει τὴν πρὸς τὸ φῶς ὁδὸν ἐποχούμενος,
καὶ ὁ Ἥλιος φανελὶ ἰᾶται τὴν πήρωσιν, καὶ 29
ὁ Ἡφαιστος Λημνόθεν ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ ἔργον.

Ὅδυσσεὺς τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο δῆθεν μεμνηνώς, ἄτε 30

¹ πλὴν Schwartz : πω MSS.

² ἀντιθύρου Guyet (cf. ἡ παράθυρος) : ἀντίθυρος MSS.

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accomplished fact, and to represent the young men lingering over the slaying of the adulterer.

"Next is a handsome god and a pretty boy, a scene of fond foolery. Branchus, sitting on a rock, is holding up a hare and teasing his dog, while the dog is apparently going to spring up at him ; Apollo, standing near, is smiling in amusement at the tricks of the lad and the efforts of the dog.

"Then comes Perseus again, in the adventure which preceded the sea-monster. He is cutting off the head of Medusa, and Athena is shielding him. He has done the daring deed, but has not looked, except at the reflection of the Gorgon in the shield, for he knows the cost of looking at the reality.

"In the middle of the wall, above the postern¹ is constructed a shrine of Athena. The goddess is of marble, and is not in harness but as a war-goddess would appear when at peace.

"Then we have another Athena, not of marble this time, but in colours as before. Hephaestus is pursuing her amorously ; she is running away and Erichthonius is being engendered of the chase.²

"On this there follows another prehistoric picture. Orion, who is blind, is carrying Cedalion, and the latter, riding on his back, is showing him the way to the sunlight. The rising sun is healing the blindness of Orion, and Hephaestus views the incident from Lemnos.

"Odysseus is next, feigning madness because

¹ Or perhaps "rear window."

² Mother Earth gave birth to him, not Athena.

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συστρατεύειν¹ τοῖς Ἀτρεΐδαις μὴ θέλων· πάρεισι δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις ἤδη καλοῦντες. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς ὑποκρίσεως πιθανὰ πάντα, ἢ ἀπήνη, τὸ τῶν ὑπεξευγμένων ἀσύμφωνον, ἢ ἄνοια² τῶν δρωμένων· ἐλέγχεται δὲ ὅμως τῷ βρέφει. Παλαμῆδης γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Ναυπλίου συνεὶς τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἀρπάσας τὸν Τηλέμαχον ἀπειλεῖ φονεύσειν πρόκωπον ἔχων τὸ ξίφος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς μανίας ὑπόκρισιν ὀργὴν καὶ οὗτος ἀνθυποκρίνεται. ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς πρὸς τὸν φόβον τοῦτον σωφρονεῖ καὶ πατὴρ γίγνεται καὶ λύει τὴν ὑπόκρισιν.

Ἑστάτη δὲ ἡ Μήδεια γέγραπται τῷ ζήλω 31
διακαῆς, τὸ παιῖδε ὑποβλέπουσα καὶ τι δεινὸν ἐννοοῦσα· ἔχει γοῦν ἤδη τὸ ξίφος, τὸ δ' ἀθλίω καθήσθον γελῶντε, μηδὲν τῶν μελλόντων εἰδότε, καὶ ταῦτα ὀρῶντε τὸ ξίφος ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν.

Ταῦτα πάντα, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐχ 32
ὁρᾶτε ὅπως ἀπάγει μὲν τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν θέαν ἀποστρέφει, μόνον δὲ καταλείπει τὸν λέγοντα; καὶ ἔγωγε διεξῆλθον αὐτά, οὐχ ἵνα τὸν ἀντίδικον τολμηρὸν ὑπολαβόντες καὶ θρασύν, εἰ τοῖς οὕτω δυσκόλοις ἑαυτὸν ἐκὼν φέρων ἐπέβαλεν, καταγνῶτε καὶ μισήσητε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων ἐγκαταλίπητε, ἀλλ' ἵνα μᾶλλον αὐτῷ συναγωνίσσησθε καὶ ὡς οἶόν τε καταμύοντες ἀκούητε τῶν λεγομένων, λογιζόμενοι τοῦ πράγματος τὴν δυσχέρειαν· μόλις γὰρ ἂν οὕτω δυνηθείη οὐ δικασταῖς

¹ ἅτε συστρατεύειν Guyet, Gesner : ὅτε συστρατεύει MSS. (but συστρατεύειν Z and correction in W).

² ἡ ἄνοια Schwartz : ἄγνοια MSS.

THE HALL

he does not want to make the campaign with the sons of Atreus. The ambassadors are there to summon him. All the details of his pretence are true to life—the wagon, the ill-matched team,¹ the folly of his actions. He is shown up, however, by means of his child. Palamedes, son of Nauplius, comprehending the situation, seizes Telemachus and threatens, sword in hand, to kill him, meeting Odysseus' pretence of madness with a pretence of anger. In the face of this fright Odysseus grows sane, becomes a father and abandons his pretence.

"Last of all Medea is pictured aflame with jealousy, looking askance at her two boys with a terrible purpose in her mind—indeed, she already has her sword—while the poor children sit there laughing, unsuspecting of the future, although they see the sword in her hands.

"Do you not see, gentlemen of the jury, how all these things attract the hearer and turn him away to look, leaving the speaker stranded? My purpose in describing them was not that you might think my opponent bold and daring for voluntarily attacking a task so difficult, and so pronounce against him, dislike him and leave him floundering, but that on the contrary you might support him and do your best to close your eyes and listen to what he says, taking into consideration the hardness of the thing. Even under these circumstances, when he has you

¹ He yoked an ass and an ox together.

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ἀλλὰ συναγωνισταῖς ὑμῖν χρησάμενος μὴ παντά-
πασιν ἀνάξιος τῆς τοῦ οἴκου πολυτελείας νομι-
σθῆναι. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀντιδίκου ταῦτα δέομαι, μὴ
θαυμάσητε· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν οἶκον φιλεῖν καὶ
τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ λέγοντα, ὅστις ἂν ᾗ, βουλοίμην ἂν
εὐδοκιμεῖν.

17 Υ 16

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as supporters, not judges, it will be just barely possible for him to avoid being thought altogether unworthy of the splendour of the hall. Do not be surprised that I make this request in behalf of an adversary, for on account of my fondness for the hall I should like anyone who may speak in it, no matter who he is, to be successful."

MY NATIVE LAND

If this piece had not come down to us among the works of Lucian, nobody would ever have thought of attributing it to him.

ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

“Οτι μὲν οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἢς πατρίδος, φθάνει 1
προτεθρυλημένον. ἄρ’ οὖν ἥδιον μὲν οὐδέν, σεμ-
νότερον δέ τι καὶ θειότερον ἄλλο; καὶ μὴν ὅσα
σεμνὰ καὶ θεῖα νομίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τούτων
πατρίς αἰτία καὶ διδάσκαλος, γεννησαμένη καὶ
ἀναθρεψαμένη καὶ παιδευσαμένη. πόλεων μὲν
οὖν μεγέθη καὶ λαμπρότητας καὶ πολυτελείας
κατασκευῶν θαυμάζουσι πολλοί, πατρίδας δὲ
στέργουσι πάντες· καὶ τοσοῦτον οὐδεὶς ἐξηπατήθη
τῶν καὶ πάνυ κεκρατημένων ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν
θέαν ἡδονῆς, ὥς ὑπὸ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τῶν παρ’
ἄλλοις θαυμάτων λήθην ποιήσασθαι τῆς πατρίδος.
ὅστις μὲν οὖν σεμνύνεται πολίτης ὦν εὐδαί- 2
μονος πόλεως, ἀγνοεῖν μοι δοκεῖ τίνα χρὴ τιμὴν
ἀπονέμειν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος δῆλός ἐστιν
ἀχθόμενος ἂν, εἰ μετριωτέρας ἔλαχε τῆς πατρίδος·
ἐμοὶ δὲ ἥδιον αὐτὸ τιμᾶν τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὄνομα.
πόλεις μὲν γὰρ παραβαλεῖν πειρωμένῳ προσήκει
μέγεθος ἐξετάζειν καὶ κάλλος καὶ τὴν τῶν ὠνίων
ἀφθονίαν· ὅπου δ’ αἵρεσίς ἐστι πόλεων, οὐδεὶς ἂν
ἔλοιτο τὴν λαμπροτέραν ἐάσας τὴν πατρίδα, ἀλλ’
εὐξαιτο μὲν ἂν εἶναι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ταῖς εὐδαί-
μοσι παραπλησίαν, ἔλοιτο δ’ ἂν τὴν ὅποιανοῦν.
τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι τῶν παίδων 3

MY NATIVE LAND

"NOTHING sweeter than one's native land"¹ is already a commonplace. If nothing is sweeter, then is anything more holy and divine? Truly of all that men count holy and divine their native land is cause and teacher, in that she bears, nurtures and educates them. To be sure, many admire cities for their size, their splendour and the magnificence of their public works, but everyone loves his own country; and even among men completely overmastered by the lust of the eye, no one is so misguided as to be forgetful of it because of the greater number of wonders in other countries. Therefore a man who prides himself on being citizen of a prosperous state does not know, it seems to me, what sort of honour one should pay his native land, and such an one would clearly take it ill if his lot had fallen in a less pretentious place. For my part I prefer to honour the mere name of native land. In attempting to compare states, it is proper, of course, to investigate their size and beauty and the abundance of their supplies; but when it is a question of choosing between them, nobody would choose the more splendid and give up his own. He would pray that it too might be as prosperous as any, but would choose it, no matter what it was. Upright children and good fathers do

¹ *Odys.* 9, 34.

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πράττουσιν καὶ οἱ χρηστοὶ τῶν πατέρων· οὔτε γὰρ νέος καλὸς καγαθὸς ἄλλον ἢ προτιμήσαι τοῦ πατρὸς οὔτε πατὴρ καταμελήσας τοῦ παιδὸς ἕτερον ἢ στέρξαι νέον, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτόν γε οἱ πατέρες νικῶμενοι προσνέμουσι τοῖς παισίν, ὥστε καὶ κάλλιστοι καὶ μέγιστοι καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἄριστα κεκοσμημένοι οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῖς εἶναι δοκούσιν. ὅστις δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτός ἐστι δικαστὴς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, οὐ δοκεῖ μοι πατρὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν.

Πατρίδος τοίνυν τὸ ὄνομα πρῶτον οἰκειότατον 4 πάντων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὃ τι τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκειότερον. εἰ δέ τις ἀπονέμει τῷ πατρὶ τὴν δικαίαν τιμὴν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ νόμος καὶ ἡ φύσις κελεύει, προσηκόντως ἢ τὴν πατρίδα προτιμήσαι· καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὸς τῆς πατρίδος κτῆμα καὶ ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς πατὴρ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τούτων οἰκεῖοι πάντες ἀνωτέρω, καὶ μέχρι θεῶν πατρῶν πρόεισιν ἀναβιβαζόμενον τὸ ὄνομα. χαίρουσι καὶ θεοὶ 5 πατρίσι καὶ πάντα μέν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐφορῶσι τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αὐτῶν ἡγούμενοι κτήματα πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, προτιμᾷ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν πόλεων. καὶ πόλεις σεμνότεραι θεῶν πατρίδες καὶ νῆσοι θειότεραι παρ' αἷς ὑμνεῖται γενέσεις θεῶν. ἱερὰ γοῦν κεχαρισμένα ταῦτα νομίζεται τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τοὺς οἰκεῖους ἕκαστος ἀφικόμενος ἱεουργῇ τόπους. εἰ δὲ θεοῖς τίμιον τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὄνομα, πῶς οὐκ ἀνθρώποις γε πολὺ μᾶλλον; καὶ γὰρ 6 εἶδε τὸν ἥλιον πρῶτον ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν θεόν, εἰ καὶ κοινός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκάστω νομίζεσθαι πατρῶν διὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου θέαν· καὶ φωνῆς ἐνταῦθα ἤρξατο

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just the same thing. A lad of birth and breeding would not honour anyone else above his father, and a father would not neglect his son and cherish some other lad. In fact, fathers, influenced by their affection, give their sons so much more than their due that they think them the best-looking, the tallest and the most accomplished in every way. One who does not judge his son in this spirit does not seem to me to have a father's eyes.

In the first place, then, the name of fatherland is closer to one's heart than all else, for there is nothing closer than a father. If one pays his father proper honour, as law and nature direct, then one should honour his fatherland still more, for his father himself belonged to it and his father's father and all their forbears, and the name of father goes back until it reaches the father-gods. Even the gods have countries that they rejoice in, and although they watch over all the abodes of man, deeming that every land and every sea is theirs, nevertheless each honours the place in which he was born above all other states. Cities are holier when they are homes of gods, and islands more divine if legends are told of the birth of gods in them. Indeed, sacrifices are accounted pleasing to the gods when one goes to their native places to perform the ceremony. If, then, the name of native land is in honour with the gods, should it not be far more so with mankind? Each of us had his first sight of the sun from his native land, and so that god, universal though he be, is nevertheless accounted by everyone a home-god, because of the place from which he saw him first. Moreover, each of us began to speak there, learning

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τὰ ἐπιχώρια πρῶτα λαλεῖν μανθάνων καὶ θεοὺς ἐγνώρισεν. εἰ δέ τις τοιαύτης ἔλαχε πατρίδος, ὡς ἑτέρας δεσθῆναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν μειζόνων παιδείαν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐχέτω καὶ τούτων τῶν παιδευμάτων τῇ πατρίδι τὴν χάριν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐγνώρισεν οὐδὲ πόλεως ὄνομα μὴ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα πόλιν εἶναι μαθών.

Πάντα δέ, οἶμαι, παιδεύματα καὶ μαθήματα 7
συλλέγουσιν ἄνθρωποι χρησιμωτέρους αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων ταῖς πατρίσι παρασκευάζοντες· κτῶνται δὲ καὶ χρήματα φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πατρίδος δαπανήματα. καὶ εἰκότως, οἶμαι· δεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχαρίστους εἶναι τοὺς τῶν μεγίστων τυχόντας εὐεργεσιῶν. ἀλλ' εἰ τοῖς καθ' ἓνα τις ἀπονέμει χάριν, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, ἐπειδὰν εὐπάθῃ πρὸς τινος, πολὺ μᾶλλον προσήκει τὴν πατρίδα τοῖς καθήκουσιν ἀμείβεσθαι· κακώσεως μὲν γὰρ γονέων εἰσὶ νόμοι παρὰ ταῖς πόλεσι, κοινὴν δὲ προσήκει πάντων μητέρα τὴν πατρίδα νομίζειν καὶ χαριστήρια τροφῶν ἀποδιδόναι καὶ τῆς τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν γνώσεως.

Ὡφθη δὲ οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀμνήμων τῆς πατρίδος, ὥς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει γενόμενος ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλ' οἷ τε κακοπραγούντες ἐν ταῖς ἀποδημίαις συνεχῶς ἀνακαλοῦσιν ὡς μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ πατρίς, οἷ τε εὐδαιμονοῦντες, ἂν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐπράττωσιν, τοῦτο γοῦν αὐτοῖς μέγιστον ἐνδεῖν νομίζουσιν τὸ μὴ τὴν πατρίδα οἰκεῖν, ἀλλὰ ξενιτεύειν· ὄνειδος γὰρ τὸ τῆς ξενιτείας. καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀποδημίας χρόνον λαμπροὺς γενομένους ἢ διὰ χρημάτων κτήσιν ἢ διὰ τιμῆς δόξαν ἢ διὰ παι-

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first to talk his native dialect, and came to know the gods there. If a man's lot has been cast in such a land that he has required another for his higher education, he should still be thankful for these early teachings, for he would not have known even the meaning of "state" if his country had not taught him that there was such a thing.

The reason, I take it, for which men amass education and learning is that they may thereby make themselves more useful to their native land, and they likewise acquire riches out of ambition to contribute to its common funds. With reason, I think: for men should not be ungrateful when they have received the greatest favours. On the contrary, if a man returns thanks to individuals, as is right, when he has been well treated by them, much more should he requite his country with its due. To wrong one's parents is against the law of the different states; but counting our native land the common mother of us all, we should give her thank-offerings for our nurture and for our knowledge of the law itself.

No one was ever known to be so forgetful of his country as to care nothing for it when he was in another state. No, those who get on badly in foreign parts continually cry out that one's own country is the greatest of all blessings, while those who get on well, however successful they may be in all else, think that they lack one thing at least, a thing of the greatest importance, in that they do not live in their own country but sojourn in a strange land; for thus to sojourn is a reproach! And men who during their years abroad have become illustrious through acquirement of wealth, through renown from office-

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δείας μαρτυρίαν ἢ δι' ἀνδρείας ἔπαινον ἔστιν ἰδεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πάντας ἐπειγομένους, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἄλλοις βελτίοσιν ἐπιδειξαμένους τὰ αὐτῶν καλά· καὶ τοσούτῳ γε μᾶλλον ἕκαστος σπεύδει λαβέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος, ὅσῳπερ ἂν φαίνεται μειζόνων παρ' ἄλλοις ἡξιωμένος.

Ποθεινὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ νέοις ἡ πατρίς· τοῖς δὲ 9
ἤδη γεγηρακόσιν ὅσῳ πλείον τοῦ φρονεῖν ἢ τοῖς νέοις μέτεστι, τοσούτῳ καὶ πλείων ἐγγίνεται πόθος τῆς πατρίδος· ἕκαστος γοῦν τῶν γεγηρακότων καὶ σπεύδει καὶ εὐχεται καταλύσαι τὸν βίον ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ἵν', ὅθεν ἤρξατο βιοῦν, ἐνταῦθα πάλιν καὶ τὸ σῶμα παρακατάθῃται τῇ θρεψαμένῃ καὶ τῶν πατρῶων κοινωνήσῃ τάφων· δεινὸν γὰρ ἐκάστῳ δοκεῖ ξενίας ἀλίσκεσθαι καὶ μετὰ θάνατον, ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ κειμένῳ γῇ.

"Ὅσον δὲ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὰς πατρίδας 10
μέτεστιν τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς γνησίοις πολίταις μάθοι τις ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπήλυδες καθάπερ νόθοι ῥαδίας ποιοῦνται τὰς μεταναστάσεις, τὸ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος ὄνομα μήτε εἰδότες μήτε στέργοντες, ἡγούμενοι δ' ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορήσειν, μέτρον εὐδαιμονίας τὰς τῆς γαστρὸς ἡδονὰς τιθέμενοι. οἷς δὲ καὶ μήτηρ ἡ πατρίς, ἀγαπῶσι τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ἧς ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐτράφησαν, καὶ ὀλίγην ἔχωσι, καὶ τραχεῖαν καὶ λεπτόγεων· καὶ ἀπορώσι τῆς γῆς ἐπαινέσαι τὴν ἀρετὴν, τῶν γε ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος οὐκ ἀπορήσουσιν ἐγκωμίων. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴδωσιν ἐτέρους σεμννυμένους πεδίοις ἀνειμένους καὶ λειμῶσι φυτοῖς παντοδαποῖς διειλημμένοις, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τῆς

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holding, through testimony to their culture, or through praise of their bravery, can be seen hurrying one and all to their native land, as if they thought they could not anywhere else find better people before whom to display the evidences of their success. The more a man is esteemed elsewhere, the more eager is he to regain his own country.

Even the young love their native land; but aged men, being wiser, love it more. In fact, every aged man yearns and prays to end his life in it, that there in the place where he began to live he may deposit his body in the earth which nurtured him and which contains the graves of his fathers. He thinks it a calamity to be guilty of being a man without a country even after death, through lying buried in a strange land.

How much affection real, true citizens have for their native land can be learned only among a people sprung from the soil. Newcomers, being but bastard children, as it were, transfer their allegiance easily, since they neither know nor love the name of native land, but expect to be well provided with the necessities of life wherever they may be,¹ measuring happiness by their appetites! On the other hand, those who have a real mother-country love the soil on which they were born and bred, even if they own but little of it, and that be rough and thin. Though they be hard put to it to praise the soil, they will not lack words to extol their country. Indeed, when they see others priding themselves on their open plains and prairies diversified with all manner of growing things, they themselves do not forget the

¹ Cf. Thucydides 1, 1.

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πατρίδος ἐγκωμίων οὐκ ἐπιλανθάνονται, τὴν δὲ
ἱπποτρόφον ὑπερορῶντες τὴν κουροτρόφον ἐπαι-
νοῦσι. καὶ σπεύδει τις εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ 11
νησιώτης ἦ, καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις εὐδαιμονεῖν δύνηται,
καὶ διδομένην ἀθανασίαν οὐ προσήσεται, προ-
τιμῶν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος τάφον, καὶ ὁ τῆς
πατρίδος αὐτῷ καπνὸς λαμπρότερος ὀφθήσεται
τοῦ παρ' ἄλλοις πυρός.

Οὕτω δὲ ἄρα τίμον εἶναι δοκεῖ παρὰ πᾶσιν 12
ἡ πατρίς, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ νομοθέτας ἴδοι
τις ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδικήμασιν ὡς χαλεπω-
τάτην ἐπιβεβληκότας τὴν φυγὴν τιμωρίαν. καὶ
οὐχ οἱ νομοθέται μὲν οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ πιστευό-
μενοι τὰς στρατηγίας ἐτέρως, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
τὸ μέγιστόν ἐστι τῶν παραγγελμάτων τοῖς
ἡαραταττομένοις, ὡς ὑπὲρ πατρίδος αὐτοῖς ὁ
πόλεμος, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἂν ἀκούσας τούτου
κακὸς εἶναι θέλῃ· ποιεῖ γὰρ τὸν δειλὸν ἀνδρεῖον
τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὄνομα.

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merits of their own country, and pass over its fitness for breeding horses to praise its fitness for breeding men. One hastens to his native land though he be an islander, and though he be able to enrich himself elsewhere. If immortality be offered him he will not accept it, preferring a grave in his native land, and the smoke thereof is brighter to his eyes than fire elsewhere.¹

To such an extent do all men seem to prize their own country that lawgivers everywhere, as one may note, have prescribed exile as the severest penalty for the greatest transgressions. And it cannot be said that in this view lawgivers differ from commanders. On the contrary, in battle no other exhortation of the marshalled men is so effective as "You are fighting for your native land!" No man who hears this is willing to be a coward, for the name of native land makes even the dastard brave.

¹ This passage is full of allusions to the *Odyssey*. Ithaca, "rough, but good for breeding men" (9, 27), is not fit for horses (4, 601). Odysseus, the islander, who might have been happy, even immortal, with Circe (5, 135; 208), will not accept immortality, for his native land is dearer than all else to him (9, 27 ff.) and he longs to see the very smoke arising from it (1, 57).



OCTOGENARIANS

This treatise (evidently compiled in haste for a special occasion) cannot fairly be fathered on Lucian. It is valuable, however, as a document, and not uninteresting in spots.

ΜΑΚΡΟΒΙΟΙ

Ὅναρ τι τοῦτο, λαμπρότατε Κυίντιλλε, κελευ- 1
 σθεὶς προσφέρω σοι δῶρον τοὺς μακροβίους,
 πάλαι μὲν τὸ ὄναρ ἰδὼν καὶ ἱστορήσας τοῖς
 φίλοις, ὅτε ἐτίθεσο τῷ δευτέρῳ σου παιδὶ τοῦ-
 νομα· συμβαλεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἔχων τίνας ὁ θεὸς
 κελεύει μοι προσφέρειν σοι τοὺς μακροβίους, τότε
 μὲν εὐξάμην τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ μήκιστον ὑμᾶς βιῶναι
 σέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδας τοὺς σούς, τοῦτο συμ-
 φέρειν νομίζων καὶ σύμπαντι μὲν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων γένει, πρὸ δὲ τῶν ἀπάντων αὐτῷ τε ἐμοὶ καὶ
 πᾶσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ μοί· τι ἀγαθὸν ἐδόκει
 προσημαίνειν ὁ θεός. σκεπτόμενος δὲ κατ' ἐμαν- 2
 τὸν εἰς ἔννοιαν¹ ἦλθον, εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς
 ἀνδρὶ περὶ παιδείαν ἔχοντι ταῦτα προστάσσοντας
 κελεύειν προσφέρειν σοι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης.
 ταύτην οὖν αἰσιωτάτην νομίζων τὴν τῶν σῶν γενεθ-
 λίων ἡμέραν δίδωμί σοι τοὺς ἱστορημένους εἰς μακ-
 ρὸν γῆρας ἀφικέσθαι ἐν ὑγίαινούσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ
 ὀλοκλήρῳ τῷ σώματι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὄφελος
 γένοιτό τί σοι ἐκ τοῦ συγγράμματος διπλοῦν·
 τὸ μὲν εὐθυμία τις καὶ ἐλπίς ἀγαθὴ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
 μήκιστον δύνασθαι βιῶναι, τὸ δὲ διδασκαλία τις
 ἐκ παραδειγμάτων, εἰ ἐπιγνοίης ὅτι οἱ μάλιστα
 ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τε σῶμα

¹ ἔννοιαν Cobet : σύννοιαν MSS.

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At the behest of a dream, illustrious Quintillus, I make you a present of the "Octogenarians." I had the dream and told my friends of it long since, when you were christening your second child. At the time, however, not being able to understand what the god meant by commanding me to "present you the octogenarians," I merely offered a prayer that you and your children might live very long, thinking that this would benefit not only the whole human race but, more than anyone else, me in person and all my kin; for I too, it seemed, had a blessing predicted for me by the god. But as I thought the matter over by myself, I hit upon the idea that very likely in giving such an order to a literary man, the gods were commanding him to present you something from his profession. Therefore, on this your birthday, which I thought the most auspicious occasion, I give you the men who are related to have attained great age with a sound mind and a perfect body. Some profit may accrue to you from the treatise in two ways: on the one hand, encouragement and good hopes of being able to live long yourself, and on the other hand, instruction by examples, if you observe that it is the men who have paid most

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καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν, οὗτοι δὲ εἰς μακρότατον γῆρας
 ἦλθον σὺν ὑγιείᾳ παντελεῖ. Νέστορα μὲν οὖν 3
 τὸν σοφώτατον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τρεῖς παρατεῖναι
 γενεὰς Ὅμηρος λέγει, ὃν συνίστησιν ἡμῖν γεγυμ-
 νασμένον ἄριστα καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι. καὶ
 Τειρεσίαν δὲ τὸν μάντιν ἢ τραγῳδίᾳ μέχρις ἕξ
 γενεῶν παρατεῖναι λέγει. πιθανὸν δ' ἂν εἴη
 ἄνδρα θεοῖς ἀνακείμενον καθαρωτέρᾳ διαίτῃ χρώ-
 μενον¹ ἐπὶ μήκιστον βιώναι. καὶ γένη δὲ ὅλα 4
 μακρόβια ἱστορεῖται διὰ τὴν δίαιταν, ὥσπερ
 Αἰγυπτίων οἱ καλούμενοι ἱερογραμματεῖς, Ἀσσυ-
 ρίων δὲ καὶ Ἀράβων οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν μύθων,
 Ἰνδῶν δὲ οἱ καλούμενοι Βραχμᾶνες, ἄνδρες
 ἀκριβῶς φιλοσοφία σχολάζοντες, καὶ οἱ καλού-
 μενοι δὲ μάγοι, γένος τοῦτο μαντικὸν καὶ θεοῖς
 ἀνακείμενον παρὰ τε Πέρσαις καὶ Πάρθοις καὶ
 Βάκτροις καὶ Χωρασμίοις καὶ Ἀρείοις καὶ Σάκαις
 καὶ Μήδοις καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις,
 ἐρρωμένοι τέ εἰσι καὶ πολυχρόνιοι διὰ τὸ μαγεύειν
 διαιτώμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκριβέστερον. ἤδη δὲ 5
 καὶ ἔθνη ὅλα μακροβιώτατα, ὥσπερ Σήρας μὲν
 ἱστοροῦσι μέχρι τριακοσίων ζῆν ἐτῶν, οἱ μὲν τῷ
 ἀέρι, οἱ δὲ τῇ γῇ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μακροῦ γήρως προσ-
 τιθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῇ διαίτῃ· ὑδροποτεῖν γάρ φασι
 τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο σύμπαν. καὶ Ἀθῶτας δὲ μέχρι
 τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν βιοῦν ἱστορεῖται, καὶ
 τοὺς Χαλδαίους ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη βιοῦν λόγος,
 τούτους μὲν καὶ κριθίνῃ ἄρτῳ χρωμένους, ὡς
 ὀξυδορκίας τοῦτο φάρμακον· οἷς γέ φασι διὰ τὴν
 τοιαύτην δίαιταν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις ὑπὲρ
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐρρωμένους εἶναι.

¹ χρώμενον Madvig: χρώμενον τὸν Τειρησίαν MSS.

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attention to body and mind that have reached an advanced age in full health. Nestor, you know, the wisest of the Achaeans, outlasted three generations, Homer says :¹ and he tells us that he was splendidly trained in mind and in body. Likewise Teiresias the seer outlasted six generations, tragedy says :² and one may well believe that a man consecrated to the gods, following a simpler diet, lives very long. Moreover, it is related that, owing to their diet, whole castes of men live long like the so-called scribes in Egypt, the story-tellers in Syria and Arabia, and the so-called Brahmins in India, men scrupulously attentive to philosophy. Also the so-called Magi, a prophetic caste consecrated to the gods, dwelling among the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Chorasmiens, the Arians, the Sacae, the Medes and many other barbarian peoples, are strong and long-lived, on account of practising magic, for they diet very scrupulously. Indeed, there are even whole nations that are very long-lived, like the Seres, who are said to live three hundred years : some attribute their old age to the climate, others to the soil and still others to their diet, for they say that this entire nation drinks nothing but water. The people of Athos are also said to live a hundred and thirty years, and it is reported that the Chaldeans live more than a hundred, using barley bread to preserve the sharpness of their eyesight. They say, too, that on account of this diet their other faculties are more vigorous than those of the rest of mankind.

¹ *Il.* 1, 250 ; *Odys.* 3, 245. ² The source is unknown.

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Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν περί τε τῶν μακροβίων 6
γενῶν καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἅτινά φασιν ὡς ἐπὶ πλεί-
στον διαγίγνεσθαι χρόνον, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν γῆν καὶ
τὸν αἶρα, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν δίαιταν, οἱ δὲ καὶ δι' ἄμφω.
ἐγὼ δ' ἂν σοι δικαίως τὴν ἐλπίδα ῥαδίαν¹
παράσχοιμι ἱστορήσας ὅτι καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν
καὶ κατὰ πάντα αἶρα μακρόβιοι γεγόνασιν ἄνδρες
οἱ γυμνασίοις τοῖς προσήκουσιν καὶ διαίτη τῇ
ἐπιτηδαιοτάτῃ πρὸς ὑγίειαν χρώμενοι. διαί- 7
ρεσιν δὲ τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι τὴν πρώτην κατὰ
τὰπιτηδεύματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πρώτους γέ σοι
τοὺς βασιλικοὺς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγικοὺς ἄνδρας
ἱστορήσω, ὧν ἓνα ἡ² εὐσεβεστάτῃ μεγάλου
θειοτάτου αὐτοκράτορος τύχη εἰς τὴν τελεωτάτην
ἀγαθοῦσα τάξιν εὐεργέτηκε τὰ μέγιστα τὴν
οἰκουμένην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἀπιδὼν καὶ
σὺ τῶν μακροβίων ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον τῆς
ἕξεως καὶ τῆς τύχης ἐτοιμότερον ἐλπίσειας γῆρας
ὑγιεινὸν καὶ μακρὸν καὶ ἅμα ζηλώσας ἐργάσαιο
σαντῷ τῇ διαίτη μέγιστόν τε ἅμα καὶ ὑγιεινότα-
τον βίον.

Πομπίλιος Νουμᾶς ὁ εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν 8
Ῥωμαίων βασιλέων καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν θερα-
πείαν τῶν θεῶν ἀσχοληθεὶς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα
ἔτη βεβιωκέναι ἱστορεῖται. Σέρβιος δὲ Τούλλιος
Ῥωμαίων καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα
ἔτη καὶ αὐτὸς βιωσάμενος ἱστορεῖται. Ταρκύνιος δὲ
ὁ τελευταῖος Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς φυγαδευθεὶς καὶ

¹ ῥαδίαν Schwartz : ῥαδίως MSS.

² ἡ Marcilius, Maius : καὶ MSS.

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But this must suffice in regard to the long-lived castes and nations who are said to exist for a very long period either on account of their soil and climate, or of their diet, or of both. I can fittingly show you that your good hopes are of easy attainment by recounting that on every soil and in every clime men who observe the proper exercise and the diet most suitable for health have been long-lived. I shall base the principal division of my treatise on their pursuits, and shall first tell you of the kings and the generals, one of whom the gracious dispensation of a great and godlike emperor has brought to the highest rank, thereby conferring a mighty boon upon the emperor's world.¹ In this way it will be possible for you, observing your similarity to these octogenarians in condition and fortune, to have better expectations of a healthy and protracted old age, and by imitating them in your way of living to make your life at once long and healthy in a high degree.

Numa Pompilius, most fortunate of the kings of Rome and most devoted to the worship of the gods, is said to have lived more than eighty years. Servius Tullius, also a king of Rome, is likewise related to have lived more than eighty years. Tarquinius, the last king of Rome, who was driven into exile

¹ The man is unknown: the emperor has been thought to be Antoninus Pius, Caracalla, and many another. The language, which suggests a period much later than Lucian, is so obscure that the meaning is doubtful.

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ἐπὶ Κύμης διατρίβων ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη
λέγεται στερρότατα βιώσαι. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν Ῥω- 9
μαίων βασιλεῖς, οἷς συνάψω καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς
βασιλέας τοὺς εἰς μακρὸν γῆρας ἀφικομένους καὶ
μετ' αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐκάστους. ἐπὶ
τέλει δέ σοι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Ῥωμαίων τοὺς
εἰς μήκιστον γῆρας ἀφικομένους προσαναγράψω,
προσθεὶς ἅμα καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰταλίαν
ἐπὶ πλεῖστον βιώσαντας· ἀξιόλογος γὰρ ἔλεγχος
ἡ ἱστορία τῶν διαβάλλειν πειρωμένων τὸν ἐνταῦθα
ἄερα, ὥστε καὶ ἡμᾶς χρηστοτέρας ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπί-
δας, τελείους ἡμῖν τὰς εὐχὰς ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ εἰς
μήκιστόν τε καὶ λιπαρὸν τὸν πάσης γῆς καὶ
θαλάττης δεσπότην γῆρας ἀφικέσθαι, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
οἰκουμένη διαρκέσοντα¹ ἤδη καὶ γέροντα.

Ἀργανθώνιος μὲν οὖν Ταρτησσίων βασιλεὺς 10
πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη βιώναι λέγεται, ὡς
Ἡρόδοτος ὁ λογοποιὸς καὶ ὁ μελοποιὸς Ἀνακρέων·
ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν μῦθος τισι δοκεῖ. Ἀγαθοκλῆς δὲ
ὁ Σικελίας τύραννος ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα ἐτελεύτα,²
καθάπερ Δημοχάρης καὶ Τίμαιος ἱστοροῦσιν.
Ἰέρων τε ὁ Συρακουσίων τύραννος δύο καὶ ἐνενή-
κοντα ἐτῶν γενόμενος ἐτελεύτα νόσφ, βασιλεύσας
ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη, ὥσπερ Δημήτριός τε ὁ Καλλα-
τιανὸς καὶ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν. Ἀτέας δὲ Σκυθῶν
βασιλεὺς μαχόμενος πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τὸν
Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἔπεσεν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη
γεγονώς. Βάρδουλις δὲ ὁ Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλεὺς ἀφ'

¹ διαρκέσοντα H, variant in B: βασιλεύοντα other MSS.

² Text Schwartz, and correction in Γ: ἐνενήκοντα πέντε
(i.e. ε) τελευτᾷ MSS.

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and dwelt at Cumae, is said to have lived more than ninety years in the most sturdy health. These are the kings of Rome, to whom I shall join such other kings as have attained great age, and after them others arranged according to their various walks of life. In conclusion I shall record for you the other Romans who have attained the greatest age, adding also those who have lived longest in the rest of Italy. The list will be a competent refutation of those who attempt to malign our climate here; and so we may have better hopes for the fulfilment of our prayers that the lord of every land and sea may reach a great and peaceful age, sufficing unto the demands of his world even in advanced years.

Arganthonius, king of the Tartessians, lived a hundred and fifty years according to Herodotus the historian and Anacreon the song-writer,¹ but some consider this a fable. Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily, died at ninety, as Demochares and Timaeus² tell us. Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, died of an illness at the age of ninety-two, after having been ruler for seventy years, as Demetrius of Callatia and others say. Ateas, king of the Scythians, fell in battle against Philip near the river Danube at an age of more than ninety years. Bardylis, king of the

¹ Our author did not verify his references. Herodotus (1, 163) says one hundred and twenty, Anacreon (*frg.* 8) one hundred and fifty.

² Timaeus, as quoted in Diodorus (21, 16, 5) said seventy-two.

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ἵππου λέγεται μάχεσθαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμῳ εἰς ἐνενήκοντα τελῶν ἔτη. Τήρης δὲ Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλεὺς, καθά φησι Θεόπομπος, δύο καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἐτῶν ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἀντίγονος 11
 δὲ ὁ Φίλιππου ὁ μονόφθαλμος βασιλεύων Μακεδόνων περὶ Φρυγίαν μαχόμενος Σελεύκῳ καὶ Λυσιμάχῳ τραύμασι πολλοῖς περιπεσὼν ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν ἐνὸς καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, ὥσπερ ὁ συστρατευόμενος αὐτῷ Ἰερώνυμος ἱστορεῖ. καὶ Λυσιμάχος δὲ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σέλευκον ἀπώλετο μάχῃ ἔτος ὀγδοηκοστὸν τελῶν, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς φησιν Ἰερώνυμος. Ἀντίγονος δέ, ὃς υἱὸς¹ μὲν ἦν Δημητρίου, υἱωνὸς δὲ Ἀντίγονου τοῦ μονοφθάλμου, οὗτος τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα Μακεδόνων ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη, ἐβίωσε δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα, ὡς Μῆδειός τε ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ἰολάου μέγιστον δυνηθεὶς καὶ ἐπιτροπεύσας πολλοὺς Μακεδόνων βασιλέας ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα οὗτος ἔτη ζήσας ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου ὁ τῶν καθ' 12
 αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονέστατος βασιλέων Αἰγύπτου μὲν ἐβασίλευσεν, τέσσαρα δὲ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη ζῶν παρέδωκεν τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸ δύο ἐτοῖν τῆς τελευτῆς Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ υἱῷ, Φιλαδέλφῳ δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὅστις διεδέξατο τὴν πατρῴαν βασιλείαν ἀδελφῶν. . . .² Φιλέταιρος δὲ πρῶτος μὲν ἐκτίσματο τὴν περὶ Πέργαμον ἀρχὴν καὶ κατέσχευεν εὐνοῦχός ὢν, κατέστρεψε δὲ τὸν βίον ὀγδοήκοντα ἐτῶν

¹ ὃς υἱὸς A.M.H.: υἱὸς MSS.

² Supply προτιμηθεὶς πρεσβυτέρων, or the like: see note opposite.

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Illyrians, is said to have fought on horseback in the war against Philip in his ninetieth year. Teres, king of the Odrysians, from what Theopompus says, died at ninety-two. Antigonus One-eye, son of Philip, and king of Macedonia, died in Phrygia in battle against Seleucus and Lysimachus, with many wounds, at eighty-one: so we are told by Hieronymus, who made the campaign with him. Lysimachus, king of Macedonia, also lost his life in the battle with Seleucus in his eightieth year, as the same Hieronymus says. There was also an Antigonus who was son of Demetrius and grandson of Antigonus One-eye: he was king of Macedonia for forty-four years and lived eighty, as Medeios and other writers say. So too Antipater, son of Iolaus, who had great power and was regent for many kings of Macedonia, was over eighty when he died. Ptolemy, son of Lagus, the most fortunate of the kings of his day, ruled over Egypt, and at the age of eighty-four, two years before his death, abdicated in favour of his son Ptolemy, called Philadelphus, who succeeded to his father's throne in lieu of his elder brothers.¹ Philetaerus, an eunuch, secured and kept the throne of Pergamus, and closed his life at

¹ At least one word, perhaps more than one, has fallen out of the Greek text. Schwartz would read ἀδελφὴν γαμῶν ("and married his sister"): my supplement is based on Justinus 16, 27: is (i.e. Ptolemy Soter) contra ius gentium minimo natu ex filiis ante infirmitatem regnum tradiderat, eiusque rei rationem populo reddiderat.

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γενόμενος. Ἀτταλος δὲ ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Φιλάδελφος,
 τῶν Περγαμηνῶν καὶ οὗτος βασιλεύων, πρὸς ὃν
 καὶ Σκιπίων Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἀφίκετο, δύο
 καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτων ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον. Μιθρι- 13
 δάτης δὲ ὁ Πόντου βασιλεὺς ὁ προσαγορευθεὶς
 Κτίστης Ἀντίγονον τὸν μονόφθαλμον φεύγων ἐπὶ
 Πόντου ἐτελεύτησεν βιώσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ
 ὀγδοήκοντα, ὥσπερ Ἱερώνυμος ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι
 συγγραφεῖς. Ἀριαράθης δὲ ὁ Καππαδοκῶν
 βασιλεὺς δύο μὲν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔζησεν ἔτη,
 ὡς Ἱερώνυμος ἱστορεῖ· ἐδυνήθη δὲ ἴσως καὶ ἐπὶ
 πλεόν διαγενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ πρὸς Περδίκκαν
 μάχῃ ζωγρηθεὶς ἀνεσκολοπίσθη. Κῦρος δὲ ὁ 14
 Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ παλαιός, ὡς δηλοῦσιν οἱ
 Περσῶν καὶ Ἀσσυρίων ὥροι, οἷς καὶ Ὀνησίκριτος ὁ
 τὰ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον συγγράψας συμφωνεῖν δοκεῖ,
 ἑκατοντούτης γενόμενος ἐζήτει μὲν ἕνα ἕκαστον
 τῶν φίλων, μαθὼν δὲ τοὺς πλείστους διεφθαρ-
 μένους ὑπὸ Καμβύσου τοῦ υἱέος, καὶ φάσκον-
 τος Καμβύσου κατὰ πρόσταγμα τὸ ἐκείνου ταῦτα
 πεποιηκέναι, τὸ μὲν τι πρὸς τὴν ὁμότητα τοῦ υἱοῦ
 διαβληθεὶς, τὸ δέ τι ὡς παρανοοῦντα αὐτὸν αἰτια-
 σάμενος ἀθυμήσας ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον. Ἀρτα- 15
 ξέρξης ὁ Μνημέων ἐπικληθεὶς, ἐφ' ὃν Κῦρος ὁ
 ἀδελφὸς ἐστρατεύσατο, βασιλεύων ἐν Πέρσαις
 ἐτελεύτησεν νόσφ' ἑξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτων γενό-
 μενος, ὡς δὲ Δίνων ἱστορεῖ, τεσσάρων καὶ ἐνενή-
 κοντα. Ἀρταξέρξης ἕτερος Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ὃν
 φησιν ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ Ἰσίδωρος ὁ
 Χαρακηνὸς συγγραφεὺς βασιλεύειν, ἔτη τρία καὶ
 ἐνενήκοντα βιούς ἐπιβουλῇ τὰδελφου Γωσίθρον

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eighty. Attalus, called Philadelphus, also king of Pergamus, to whom the Roman general Scipio paid a visit, put an end to his own life at eighty-two. Mithridates, king of Pontus, called the Founder, exiled by Antigonus One-eye, died in Pontus at eighty-four, as Hieronymus and other writers say. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, lived eighty-two years, as Hieronymus says: perhaps he would have lived longer if he had not been captured in the battle with Perdiccas and crucified. Cyrus, king of the Persians in olden times, according to the Persian and Assyrian annals (with which Onesicritus, who wrote a history of Alexander, seems to agree) at the age of a hundred asked for all his friends by name and learned that most of them had been put to death by his son Cambyzes. When Cambyzes asserted that he had done this by order of Cyrus, he died of a broken heart, partly because he had been slandered for his son's cruelty, partly because he accused himself of being feeble-minded. Artaxerxes, called the Unforgetting, against whom Cyrus, his brother, made the expedition, was king of Persia when he died of illness at the age of eighty-six (according to Dinon ninety-four). Another Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who, Isidore the Characene historian says, occupied the throne in the time of Isidore's fathers, was assassinated at the age of ninety-three through the machinations of his brother Gosithras. Sinatroces,

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ἐδολοφονήθη. Συνατρόκης δὲ ὁ Παρθυαίων βα-
 σιλεὺς ἔτος ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἤδη γεγωνὸς ὑπὸ Σα-
 καυράκων Σκυθῶν καταχθεὶς βασιλεύειν ἤρξατο
 καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ἑπτὰ. Τιγράνης δὲ ὁ
 Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς, πρὸς ὃν Λούκουλλος ἐπο-
 λέμησεν, πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐτῶν ἐτελεύτα
 νόσῳ. Ὑσπαυσίνης δὲ ὁ Χάρης καὶ τῶν 16
 κατ' Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν τόπων βασιλεὺς πέντε
 καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐτῶν νοσήσας ἐτελεύτησεν.
 Τίραιος δὲ ὁ μετ' Ὑσπαυσίνην τρίτος βασιλεύσας
 δύο καὶ ἐνενήκοντα βιοὺς ἔτη¹ ἐτελεύτα νόσῳ.
 Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ μετὰ Τίραιον ἑβδομος βασιλεύσας
 Χάρακος ἑξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐτῶν καταχθεὶς ὑπὸ
 Πάρθων ἐβασίλευσε. Καμνασκίρης δὲ βασιλεὺς
 Παρθυαίων ἑξ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔζησεν ἔτη. 17
 Μασ-
 σινίσσας δὲ Μαυρουσίων βασιλεὺς ἐνενήκοντα
 ἐβίωσεν ἔτη. Ἀσανδρος δὲ ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ ἀντὶ ἐθνάρχου βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθεὶς
 Βοσπόρου περὶ ἔτη ὧν ἐνενήκοντα ἵππομαχῶν καὶ
 πεζομαχῶν οὐδενὸς ἡττων ἐφάνη· ὥς δὲ ἑώρα τοὺς
 ἑαυτοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν μάχην² Σκριβωνίῳ προστιθεμένους
 ἀποσχόμενος σιτίων ἐτελεύτησεν βιοὺς ἔτη τρία
 καὶ ἐνενήκοντα· Γοαῖσος δέ, ὡς φησιν Ἰσίδωρος ὁ
 Χαρακηνός, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἡλικίας Ὀμάνων τῆς
 ἀρωματοφόρου βασιλεύσας πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἑκα-
 τὸν γεγωνὸς ἐτῶν ἐτελεύτησεν νόσῳ.

Βασιλέας μὲν οὖν τοσούτους ἱστορήκασι μακρο-
 βίους· οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ φιλόσοφοι 18
 καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ παιδείαν ἔχοντες, ἐπιμέλειαν
 πῶς καὶ οὗτοι ποιούμενοι ἑαυτῶν, εἰς μακρὸν

¹ ἔτη Schwartz: not in MSS.

² τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν μάχην Guyet: τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ μάχῃ MSS.

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king of Parthia, was restored to his country in his eightieth year by the Sacauracian Scyths, assumed the throne and held it seven years. Tigranes, king of Armenia, with whom Lucullus warred, died of illness at the age of eighty-five. Hyspausines, king of Charax and the country on the Red Sea, fell ill and died at eighty-five. Tiraeus, the second successor of Hyspausines on the throne, died of illness at the age of ninety-two. Artabazus, the sixth successor of Tiraeus on the throne of Charax, was reinstated by the Parthians and became king at the age of eight-six. Camnascires, king of the Parthians, lived ninety-six years. Massinissa, king of the Moors, lived ninety years. Asandrus, who, after being ethnarch, was proclaimed king of Bosphorus by the divine Augustus, at about ninety years proved himself a match for anyone in fighting from horseback or on foot ; but when he saw his subjects going over to Scribonius on the eve of battle, he starved himself to death at the age of ninety-three. According to Isidore the Characene, Goaesus, who was king of spice-bearing Omania in Isidore's time, died of illness at one hundred and fifteen years.

These are the kings prior to our time who are said to have lived long. Since philosophers and literary men in general, doubtless because they too take good care of themselves, have attained old age,

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γῆρας ἦλθον, ἀναγράφομεν καὶ τούτων τοὺς
 ἱστορημένους, καὶ πρώτους γε φιλοσόφους. Δη-
 μόκριτος μὲν Ἀβδηρίτης ἐτῶν γεγονώς τεσσάρων
 καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀποσχόμενος τροφῆς ἐτελεύτα. Ξενο-
 φίλος δὲ ὁ μουσικός, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος,
 προσσχὼν τῇ Πυθαγόρου φιλοσοφίᾳ ὑπὲρ τὰ
 πέντε καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη Ἀθήνησιν ἐβίωσεν. Σόλων
 δὲ καὶ Θαλῆς καὶ Πιπτακός, οἵτινες τῶν κληθέν-
 των ἐπὶ τὰ σοφῶν ἐγένοντο, ἑκατὸν ἕκαστος ἔζη-
 σεν ἔτη, Ζήνων δὲ ὁ τῆς Στωϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας 19
 ἀρχηγὸς ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα· ὃν φασιν
 εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ προσπταί-
 σαντα ἀναφθέγγασθαι, Τί με βοᾷς; καὶ ὑποστρέ-
 ψαντα οἴκαδε καὶ ἀποσχόμενον τροφῆς τελευ-
 τῆσαι τὸν βίον. Κλεάνθης δὲ ὁ Ζήνωνος μαθητῆς
 καὶ διάδοχος ἐννέα καὶ ἐνενήκοντα οὗτος γεγονώς
 ἔτη φῦμα ἔσχεν ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλους καὶ ἀποκαρτερῶν
 ἐπελθόντων αὐτῷ παρ' ἐταίρων τινῶν γραμμάτων
 προσενεγκάμενος τροφήν καὶ πράξας περὶ ὧν
 ἠξίουσι οἱ φίλοι, ἀποσχόμενος αὐθις τροφῆς ἐξέ-
 λιπε τὸν βίον. Ξενοφάνης δὲ ὁ Δεξίνου μὲν 20
 υἱός, Ἀρχελάου δὲ τοῦ φυσικοῦ μαθητῆς ἐβίωσεν
 ἔτη ἑνὶ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα. Ξενοκράτης δὲ Πλάτωνος
 μαθητῆς γενόμενος τέσσαρα καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα·
 Καρνεάδης δὲ ὁ τῆς νεωτέρας Ἀκαδημίας ἀρχηγὸς
 ἔτη πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα· Χρύσιππος ἑνὶ καὶ
 ὀγδοήκοντα· Διογένης δὲ ὁ Σελευκεὺς ἀπὸ Τίγριος
 Στωϊκὸς φιλόσοφος ὀκτὼ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα· Ποσει-
 δώνιος Ἀπαμεὺς τῆς Συρίας, νόμφ δὲ Ῥόδιος,

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I shall put down those whom there is record of, beginning with the philosophers. Democritus of Abdera starved himself to death at the age of one hundred and four. Xenophilus the musician, we are told by Aristoxenus, adopted the philosophical system of Pythagoras, and lived in Athens more than one hundred and five years. Solon, Thales, and Pittacus, who were of the so-called seven wise men, each lived a hundred years, and Zeno, the head of the Stoic school, ninety-eight. They say that when Zeno stumbled in entering the assembly, he cried out: "Why do you call me?"¹ and then, returning home, starved himself to death. Cleanthes, the pupil and successor of Zeno, was ninety-nine when he got a tumour on his lip. He was fasting when letters from certain of his friends arrived, but he had food brought him, did what his friends had requested, and then fasted anew until he passed away. Xenophanes, son of Dexinus and disciple of Archelaus the physicist, lived ninety-one years; Xenocrates, the disciple of Plato, eighty-four; Carneades, the head of the New Academy, eighty-five; Chrysippus, eighty-one; Diogenes of Seleucia on the Tigris, a Stoic philosopher, eighty-eight; Posidonius of Apameia in Syria, naturalised in Rhodes,

¹ Addressed to Pluto. According to Diogenes Laertius 7, 28 he said *ἐρχομαι τί μ' αἰεῖς*; ("I come: why din it in my ears?"), a quotation from a play called Niobe (Nauck, *Trag. Gr. Fragm.* p. 51).

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φιλόσοφός τε ἄμα καὶ ἱστορίας συγγραφεὺς τέσσαρα καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα· Κριτόλαος ὁ Περιπατητικὸς ὑπὲρ δύο καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. Πλάτων δὲ 21
ὁ ἱερώτατος ἐν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. Ἀθηνόδωρος Σάνδωνος Ταρσεὺς Στωϊκός, ὃς καὶ διδάσκαλος ἐγένετο Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ, ὑφ' οὗ ἡ Ταρσέων πόλις καὶ φόρων ἐκουφίσθη, δύο καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη βιούς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ τιμὰς ὁ Ταρσέων δῆμος αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον ἀπονέμει ὡς ἡρωϊ. Νέστωρ δὲ Στωϊκὸς ἀπὸ Ταρσοῦ διδάσκαλος Καίσαρος Τιβερίου ἔτη δύο καὶ ἐνενήκοντα· Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὁ Γρύλλου ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐβίωσεν ἔτη. 22
οὗτοι μὲν φιλοσόφων οἱ ἔνδοξοι.

Συγγραφέων δὲ Κτησίβιος μὲν ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράων¹ ἐν περιπάτῳ ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς ἱστορεῖ. Ἱερώνυμος δὲ ἐν πολέμοις γενόμενος καὶ πολλοὺς καμάτους ὑπομείνας καὶ τραύματα ἔζησεν ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ ἑκατόν, ὡς Ἀγαθαρχίδης ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἱστοριῶν λέγει, καὶ θαυμάζει γε τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἡμέρας ἄρτιον ὄντα ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις, μηδενὸς γενόμενον τῶν πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐλλιπῆ. Ἑλλάνικος ὁ Λέσβιος ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε, καὶ Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος ὁμοίως ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε. Τίμαιος ὁ Ταυρομενίτης ἕξ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα· Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ὁ Κασανδρεὺς ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη λέγεται βεβιωκέναι, τὴν ἱστορίαν δὲ τέταρτον καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἔτος γεγωνὸς ἤρξατο συγγράφειν, ὡς

¹ Text Belin : ρκδ (a misreading of ρκ'δ) MSS.

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who was at once a philosopher and a historian, eighty-four; Critolaus, the Peripatetic, more than eighty-two: Plato the divine, eighty-one. Athenodorus, son of Sando, of Tarsus, a Stoic, tutor of Caesar Augustus the divine, through whose influence the city of Tarsus was relieved of taxation, died in his native land at the age of eighty-two, and the people of Tarsus pay him honour each year as a hero. Nestor, the Stoic from Tarsus, the tutor of Tiberius Caesar, lived ninety-two years, and Xenophon, son of Gryllus, more than ninety.¹ These are the noteworthy philosophers.

Of the historians, Ctesibius died at the age of one hundred and four while taking a walk, according to Apollodorus in his Chronology. Hieronymus, who went to war and stood much toil and many wounds, lived one hundred and four years, as Agatharchides says in the ninth book of his History of Asia; and he expresses his amazement at the man, because up to his last day he was still vigorous in his marital relations and in all his faculties, lacking none of the symptoms of health. Hellanicus of Lesbos was eighty-five, Pherecydes the Syrian eighty-five also, Timaeus of Tauromenium ninety-six. Aristobulus of Cassandria is said to have lived more than ninety years. He began to write his history in his eighty-fourth year, for he says so himself in the beginning of

¹ Not infrequently classed as a philosopher; cf. Quintilian 10, 1, 81 ff.

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αὐτὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς πραγματείας λέγει. Πολύβιος δὲ ὁ Λυκόρτα Μεγαλοπολίτης ἀγρόθεν ἀνελθὼν ἀπ' Ἰππου κατέπεσεν καὶ ἐκ τούτου νοσήσας ἀπέθανεν ἑτῶν δύο καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, Ὑψικράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀμισηνὸς συγγραφεὺς διὰ πολλῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενος ἔτη δύο καὶ ἐνενήκοντα.

Ῥητόρων δὲ Γοργίας, ὃν τινες σοφιστὴν 23
καλοῦσιν, ἔτη ρη' τροφῆς δὲ ἀποσχόμενος ἐτελεύτησεν· ὃν φασιν ἐρωτηθέντα τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μακροῦ γήρωος καὶ ὑγιεινοῦ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν εἰπεῖν, διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε συμπεριενεχθῆναι ταῖς ἄλλων εὐωχίαις. Ἰσοκράτης ἔξ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη γεγωνῶς τὸν πανηγυρικὸν ἔγραφε λόγον, περὶ ἔτη δὲ ἑνὸς ἀποδέοντα ἑκατὸν γεγωνῶς ὡς ἦσθετο Ἀθηναίους ὑπὸ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν μάχῃ νενικημένους, ποτνιῶμενος τὸν Εὐριπίδειον στίχον προηνέγκατο εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναφέρον,

Σιδώνιον ποτ' ἄστυ Κάδμος ἐκλιπών·

καὶ ἐπειπὼν ὡς δουλεύσει ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ῥήτωρ, θεοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ διδάσκαλος γενόμενος καὶ σὺν Ἀθηνοδώρῳ τῷ Ταρσεὶ φιλοσόφῳ παιδεύσας αὐτόν, ἔζησεν ταῦτά τῳ Ἀθηνοδώρῳ ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα δύο. Ποτάμων δὲ οὐκ ἄδοξος ῥήτωρ ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα.

Σοφοκλῆς ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς ῥᾶγα σταφυλῆς 24
καταπιὼν ἀπεπνίγη πέντε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ζήσας ἔτη. οὗτος ὑπὸ Ἰοφῶντος τοῦ υἱέος ἐπὶ τέλει

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the work. Polybius, son of Lycortas, of Megalopolis, while coming in from his farm to the city, was thrown from his horse, fell ill as a result of it, and died at eighty-two. Hypsicrates of Amisenum, the historian, who mastered many sciences, lived to be ninety-two.

Of the orators, Gorgias, whom some call a sophist, lived to be one hundred and eight, and starved himself to death. They say that when he was asked the reason for his great age, sound in all his faculties, he replied that he had never accepted other people's invitations to dinner! Isocrates wrote his Panegyric at ninety-six; and at the age of ninety-nine, when he learned that the Athenians had been beaten by Philip in the battle of Chaeronea, he groaned and uttered the Euripidean line

"When Cadmus, long ago, quit Sidon town,"¹

alluding to himself; then, adding, "Greece will lose her liberty," he quitted life. Apollodorus, the Pergamene rhetorician who was tutor to Caesar Augustus the divine and helped Athenodorus, the philosopher of Tarsus, to educate him, lived eighty-two years, like Athenodorus. Potamo, a rhetorician of considerable repute, lived ninety years.

Sophocles the tragedian swallowed a grape and choked to death at ninety-five. Brought to trial by his son Iophon toward the close of his life on a charge

¹ From the prologue of the lost play *Phrixus* (*frag.* 816 Nauck).

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

τοῦ βίου παρανοίας κρινόμενος ἀνέγνω τοῖς δικασ-
 ταῖς Οἰδίπουν τὸν ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ, ἐπιδεικνύμενος διὰ
 τοῦ δράματος ὅπως τὸν νοῦν ὑγιαίνει, ὡς τοὺς
 δικαστὰς τὸν μὲν ὑπερθαυμάσαι, κατὰ ψηφίσασθαι
 δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ μανίαν. Κρατῖνος δὲ ὁ τῆς 25
 κωμωδίας ποιητῆς ἐπτά¹ πρὸς τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα
 ἔτεσιν ἐβίωσε, καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου διδάξας
 τὴν Πυτίην καὶ νικήσας μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐτελεύτα.
 καὶ Φιλῆμων δὲ ὁ κωμικός,² ὁμοίως τῷ Κρατίνῳ
 ἐπτά καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη βιούς, κατέκειτο μὲν ἐπὶ
 κλίνης ἡρεμῶν, θεασάμενος δὲ ὄνον τὰ παρεσκευα-
 σμένα αὐτῷ σῦκα κατεσθίοντα ὥρμησε μὲν εἰς
 γέλωτα, καλέσας δὲ τὸν οἰκέτην καὶ σὺν πολλῷ
 καὶ ἄθρῳ γέλωτι εἰπὼν προσδοῦναι τῷ ὄνῳ
 ἀκράτου ῥοφεῖν ἀποπνιγεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος
 ἀπέθανεν. καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ὁ τῆς κωμωδίας
 ποιητῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἐπτά ἔτη
 λέγεται βιῶναι. Ἀνακρέων δὲ ὁ τῶν μελῶν 26
 ποιητῆς ἔζησεν ἔτη πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ
 Στησίχορος δὲ ὁ μελοποιὸς ταῦτά, Σιμωνίδης δὲ
 ὁ Κεῖος ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα.

Γραμματικῶν δὲ Ἐρατοσθένους μὲν ὁ Ἄγ- 27
 λαοῦ Κυρηναῖος, ὃν οὐ μόνον γραμματικόν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ποιητὴν ἂν τις ὀνομάσειεν καὶ φιλόσοφον
 καὶ γεωμέτρην, δύο καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα οὗτος ἔζησεν
 ἔτη. καὶ Λυκοῦργος δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης τῶν Λακεδαι- 28
 μονίων πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη ζῆσαι ἱστορεῖται.

¹ ἐπτά N, vulg.: τέσσαρα other MSS., Schwartz.

² ὁ κωμικός MSS.: κωμικός Schwartz.

OCTOGENARIANS

of feeble-mindedness, he read the jurors his Oedipus at Colonus, proving by the play that he was sound of mind, so that the jury applauded him to the echo and convicted the son himself of insanity. Cratinus, the comic poet, lived ninety-seven years, and toward the end of his life he produced "The Flask" and won the prize, dying not long thereafter. Philemon, the comic poet, was ninety-seven like Cratinus, and was lying on a couch resting. When he saw a donkey eating the figs that had been prepared for his own consumption, he burst into a fit of laughter; calling his servant and telling him, along with a great and hearty laugh, to give the donkey also a sup of wine, he choked with his laughter and died.¹ Epicharmus, the comic poet, is also said to have lived ninety-seven years. Anacreon, the lyric poet, lived eighty-five years; Stesichorus, the lyric poet, the same, and Simonides of Ceos more than ninety.

Of the grammarians, Eratosthenes, son of Aglaus, of Cyrene, who was not only a grammarian but might also be called a poet, a philosopher and a geometrician, lived eighty-two years. Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, is said to have lived eighty-five years.

¹ The same story is told of Chrysippus (Diog. Laert. 7 185).

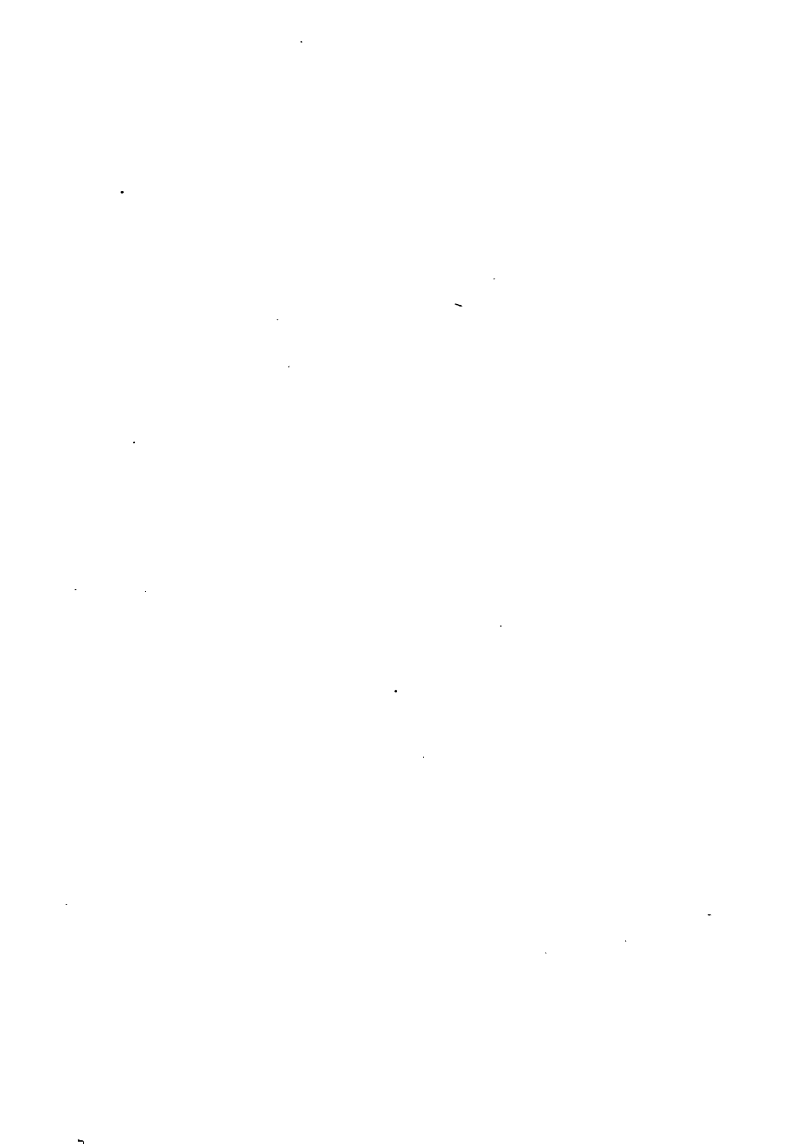
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Τοσούτους ἐδυνήθημεν βασιλέας καὶ πεπαι- 29
 δευμένους ἀθροῖσαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπεσχόμεν καὶ
 Ῥωμαίων τινὰς καὶ τῶν τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκησάντων
 μακροβίων ἀναγράψαι, τούτους σοι, θεῶν βουλο-
 μένων, ἱερώτατε Κυίντιλλε, ἐν ἄλλῳ δηλώσομεν
 λόγῳ.

17 v 16

OCTOGENARIANS

These are the kings and the literary men whose names I have been able to collect. As I have promised to record some of the Romans and the Italians who were octogenarians, I will set them forth for you, saintly Quintillus, in another treatise, if it be the will of the gods.



A TRUE STORY

It is unfortunate that we cannot enjoy the full bouquet of this good wine because so many of the works which Lucian parodies here are lost. The little that remains of his originals has been gathered by A. Stengel (*De Luciani Veris Historiis*, Berlin 1911, from whom I cite as much as space permits).

ΑΛΗΘΩΝ ΔΙΗΓΗΜΑΤΩΝ¹

[ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ]

Ὡς περ τοῖς ἀθλητικοῖς καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν¹
σωμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν ἀσχολουμένοις² οὐ τῆς εὐεξίας
μόνον οὐδὲ τῶν γυμνασίων φροντίς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῆς κατὰ καιρὸν γινομένης ἀνέσεως—μέρος
γούν τῆς ἀσκήσεως τὸ μέγιστον αὐτὴν ὑπολαμβάνου-
σιν—οὕτω δὴ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐσπου-
δακόσιν ἡγοῦμαι προσήκειν μετὰ τὴν πολλὴν τῶν
σπουδαιοτέρων ἀνάγνωσιν ἀνιέναι τε τὴν διάνοιαν
καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔπειτα κάματον ἀκμαιοτέραν παρα-
σκευάζειν. γένοιτο δ' ἂν ἐμμελὴς ἢ ἀνάπαυσις²
αὐτοῖς, εἰ τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων ὁμι-
λοῖεν, ἢ μὴ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ ἀστείου τε καὶ χαρίεντος
ψιλὴν παρέξει τὴν ψυχαγωγίαν, ἀλλὰ τινα καὶ
θεωρίαν οὐκ ἄμουσον ἐπιδείξεται, οἷόν τι καὶ περὶ
τῶνδε τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτοὺς³ φρονήσιν ὑπο-
λαμβάνω· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸ ξένον τῆς ὑποθέσεως
οὐδὲ τὸ χαρίεν τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐπαγωγὸν ἔσται
αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ὅτι ψεύσματα ποικίλα πιθανῶς τε καὶ
ἐναλήθως ἐξενηρόχαμεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἱστορου-
μένων ἕκαστον οὐκ ἀκωμωδῆτως ἥνικται πρὸς τινας

¹ So the best MSS. (though some have ἀληθινῶν) and Photius (cod. 166, 1 a). Ἀληθοῦς Ἱστορίας vulg.

² ἀσχολουμένοις F, Nilén : ἡσκημένοις other MSS.

³ αὐτοὺς Schwartz : not in MSS.

A TRUE STORY

BOOK I

Men interested in athletics and in the care of their bodies think not only of condition and exercise but also of relaxation in season ; in fact, they consider this the principal part of training. In like manner students, I think, after much reading of serious works may profitably relax their minds and put them in better trim for future labour. It would be appropriate recreation for them if they were to take up the sort of reading that, instead of affording just pure amusement based on wit and humour, also boasts a little food for thought that the Muses would not altogether spurn ; and I think they will consider the present work something of the kind. They will find it enticing not only for the novelty of its subject, for the humour of its plan and because I tell all kinds of lies in a plausible and specious way, but also because everything in my story is a more or less comical parody of one or

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τῶν παλαιῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ φι-
 λосоφῶν πολλὰ τεράστια καὶ μυθώδη συγγεγρα-
 φότων,¹ οὓς καὶ ὀνομαστὶ ἂν ἔγραφον, εἰ μὴ καὶ
 αὐτῷ σοι ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως φανεῖσθαι ἐμελλον
 * * * ² Κτησίας ὁ Κτησιόχου ὁ Κνίδιος, δς 3
 συνέγραψεν περὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν χώρας καὶ τῶν παρ'
 αὐτοῖς ἃ μὴτε αὐτὸς εἶδεν μὴτε ἄλλου ἀληθεύοντος
 ἤκουσεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Ἰαμβοῦλος περὶ τῶν ἐν
 τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάττῃ πολλὰ παράδοξα, γνῶριμον
 μὲν ἅπασιν τὸ ψεύδος πλασάμενος, οὐκ ἀτερπὴ δὲ
 ὅμως συνθεὶς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι
 τὰ αὐτὰ τοῦτοις προελόμενοι συνέγραψαν ὡς δὴ
 τινες ἐαυτῶν πλάνας τε καὶ ἀποδημίας, θηρίων τε
 μεγέθη ἱστοροῦντες καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὁμότητας καὶ
 βίων καινότητας· ἀρχηγὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ διδάσκα-
 λος τῆς τοιαύτης βωμολοχίας ὁ τοῦ Ὀμήρου
 Ὀδυσσεύς, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλκίνοον διηγούμενος
 ἀνέμων τε δουλείαν καὶ μονοφθάλμους καὶ ὁμο-
 φάγους καὶ ἀγρίους τινὰς ἀνθρώπους, ἔτι δὲ
 πολυκέφαλα ζῶα καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ φαρμάκων τῶν
 ἐταίρων μεταβολάς, οἷα πολλὰ ἐκεῖνος πρὸς
 ἰδιώτας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς Φαίακας ἑτερατεύσατο.
 τοῦτοις οὖν ἐντυχῶν ἅπασιν, τοῦ ψεύσασθαι 4
 μὲν οὐ σφόδρα τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐμεμψάμην, ὁρῶν ἥδη
 σύνηθες ὃν τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ὑπισχνου-
 μένοις· ἐκεῖνο δὲ αὐτῶν ἐθαύμασα, εἰ ἐνόμιζον
 λῆσειν οὐκ ἀληθῇ συγγράφοντες. διόπερ καὶ
 αὐτὸς ὑπὸ κενοδοξίας ἀπολιπεῖν τι σπουδάσας

¹ συγγεγραφότων Γ, Ω.: συγγεγραφότας Ζ.

² Supply οἷον (Bekker), or the like.

A TRUE STORY, I

another of the poets, historians and philosophers of old, who have written much that smacks of miracles and fables. I would cite them by name, were it not that you yourself will recognise them from your reading. One of them is Ctesias, son of Ctesiochus, of Cnidos, who wrote a great deal about India and its characteristics that he had never seen himself nor heard from anyone else with a reputation for truthfulness. Iambulus also wrote much that was strange about the countries in the great sea: he made up a falsehood that is patent to everybody, but wrote a story that is not uninteresting for all that.¹ Many others, with the same intent, have written about imaginary travels and journeys of theirs, telling of huge beasts, cruel men and strange ways of living. Their guide and instructor in this sort of charlatanry is Homer's Odysseus, who tells Alcinous and his court about winds in bondage, one-eyed men, cannibals and savages; also about animals with many heads, and transformations of his comrades wrought with drugs. This stuff, and much more like it, is what our friend humbugged the illiterate Phaeacians with! Well, on reading all these authors, I did not find much fault with them for their lying, as I saw that this was already a common practice even among men who profess philosophy.² I did wonder, though, that they thought that they could write untruths and not get caught at it. Therefore, as I myself, thanks to my vanity, was eager to hand something

¹ The writings of Ctesias and Iambulus are lost; also those of Antonius Diogenes, whose story, *On the Wonders beyond Thule*, was according to Photius (*Bibb.*, cod. 166, 111 b) the fountain-head of Lucian's tale.

² A slap at Plato's Republic (x. 614 A *seq.*), as the scholiast says.

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τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ μόνος ἄμοιρος ὦ τῆς ἐν τῷ μυθολογεῖν ἐλευθερίας, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἱστορεῖν εἶχον—οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐπεπόνθειν ἀξιόλογον—ἐπὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐτραπόμην πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων εὐγνωμονέστερον· καὶ ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἀληθεύσω λέγων ὅτι ψεύδομαι. οὕτω δ' ἂν μοι δοκῶ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορίαν ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτὸς ὁμολογῶν μηδὲν ἀληθὲς λέγειν. γράφω τοίνυν περὶ ὧν μήτε εἶδον μήτε ἔπαθον μήτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐπυθόμην, ἔτι δὲ μήτε ὅλως ὄντων μήτε τὴν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι δυναμένων. διὸ δεῖ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας μηδαμῶς πιστεῦειν αὐτοῖς.

Ὅρμηθεῖς γάρ ποτε ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν 5 καὶ ἀφείς εἰς τὸν ἐσπέριον ὠκεανὸν οὐρίῳ ἀνέμῳ τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιοῦμην. αἰτία δέ μοι τῆς ἀποδημίας καὶ ὑπόθεσις ἡ τῆς διανοίας περιεργία καὶ πραγμάτων καινῶν ἐπιθυμία καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν τί τὸ τέλος ἐστὶν τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ καὶ τίνες οἱ πέραν κατοικοῦντες ἄνθρωποι. τούτου γέ τοι ἕνεκα πάμπολλα μὲν σιτία ἐνεβαλόμην, ἱκανὸν δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐνεθέμην, πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν προσεποιησάμην τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ἔχοντας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅπλων πολὺ τι πλῆθος παρεσκευασάμην καὶ κυβερνήτην τὸν ἄριστον μισθῷ μεγάλῳ πείσας παρέλαβον καὶ τὴν ναῦν—ἄκατος δὲ ἦν—ὥς πρὸς μέγαν καὶ βίαιον πλοῦν ἐκρατυνάμην. ἡμέραν 6 οὖν καὶ νύκτα οὐρίῳ πλέοντες ἔτι τῆς γῆς ὑποφαινομένης οὐ σφόδρα βιαίως ἀνηγόμεθα, τῆς ἐπιούσης δὲ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ὃ τε ἄνεμος

A TRUE STORY, I

down to posterity, that I might not be the only one excluded from the privileges of poetic licence, and as I had nothing true to tell, not having had any adventures of significance, I took to lying. But my lying is far more honest than theirs, for though I tell the truth in nothing else, I shall at least be truthful in saying that I am a liar. I think I can escape the censure of the world by my own admission that I am not telling a word of truth. Be it understood, then, that I am writing about things which I have neither seen nor had to do with nor learned from others—which, in fact, do not exist at all and, in the nature of things, cannot exist.¹ Therefore my readers should on no account believe in them.

Once upon a time, setting out from the Pillars of Hercules and heading for the western ocean with a fair wind, I went a-voyaging. The motive and purpose of my journey lay in my intellectual activity and desire for adventure, and in my wish to find out what the end of the ocean was, and who the people were that lived on the other side. On this account I put aboard a good store of provisions, stowed water enough, enlisted in the venture fifty of my acquaintances who were like-minded with myself, got together also a great quantity of arms, shipped the best sailing-master to be had at a big inducement, and put my boat—she was a pinnace—in trim for a long and difficult voyage. Well, for a day and a night we sailed before the wind without making very much offing, as land was still dimly in sight; but at sunrise on the second day the wind freshened, the

¹ Compare the protestations of Ctesias and of Antonius Diogenes (Phot. cod. 72, 49-50; 166, 109 b).

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐπεδίδου καὶ τὸ κῦμα ἠϋξάνετο καὶ ζόφος ἐπεγίνετο καὶ οὐκέτ' οὐδὲ στείλαι τὴν ὀθόνην δυνατὸν ἦν. ἐπιτρέψαντες οὖν τῷ πνέοντι καὶ παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐχειμαζόμεθα ἡμέρας ἑννέα καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, τῇ ὀγδοηκοστῇ δὲ ἄφνω ἐκλάμψαντος ἡλίου καθορώμεν οὐ πόρρω νῆσον ὑψηλὴν καὶ δασεῖαν, οὐ τραχεῖ περιηχουμένην τῷ κύματι· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη τὸ πολὺ τῆς ζάλης κατεπαύετο.

Προσσχόντες οὖν καὶ ἀποβάντες ὡς ἂν ἐκ μακρᾶς τάλαιπωρίας πολλὴν μὲν χρόνον ἐπὶ γῆς ἐκείμεθα, διαναστάντες δὲ ὅμως ἀπεκρίναμεν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τριάκοντα· μὲν φύλακας τῆς νεῶς παραμένειν, εἴκοσι δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. προελθόντες δὲ 7 ὅσον σταδίους τρεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης δι' ὕλης ὀρώμεν τινα στήλην χαλκοῦ πεποιημένην, Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν καταγεγραμμένην, ἀμυδροῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκτετριμμένοις, λέγουσαν Ἀχρι τούτων Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Διόνυσος ἀφίκοντο. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἵχνη δύο πλησίον ἐπὶ πέτρας, τὸ μὲν πλεθριαῖον, τὸ δὲ ἔλαττον—ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διονύσου, τὸ μικρότερον, θάτερον δὲ Ἡρακλέους. προσκυνήσαντες δ' οὖν προῆμεν· οὐπω δὲ πολὺ παρῆμεν καὶ ἐφιστάμεθα ποταμῷ οἶνον ῥέοντι ὁμοιότατον μάλιστα οἷόσπερ ὁ Χιὸς ἐστίν. ἀφθονον δὲ ἦν τὸ ῥεῦμα καὶ πολὺ, ὥστε ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ ναυσίπορον εἶναι δύνασθαι. ἐπῆει οὖν ἡμῖν πολὺ μᾶλλον πιστεύειν τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης ἐπιγράμματι, ὀρώσι τὰ σημεῖα τῆς Διονύσου ἐπιδημίας. δόξαν δέ μοι

A TRUE STORY, I

sea rose, darkness came on, and before we knew it we could no longer even get our canvas in. Committing ourselves to the gale and giving up, we drove for seventy-nine days. On the eightieth day, however, the sun came out suddenly and at no great distance we saw a high, wooded island ringed about with sounding surf, which, however, was not rough, as already the worst of the storm was abating.¹

Putting in and going ashore, we lay on the ground for some time in consequence of our long misery, but finally we arose and told off thirty of our number to stay and guard the ship and twenty to go inland with me and look over the island. When we had gone forward through the wood about three furlongs from the sea, we saw a slab of bronze, inscribed with Greek letters, faint and obliterated, which said : " To this point came Hercules and Dionysus." There were also two footprints in the rock close by, one of which was a hundred feet long, the other less—to my thinking, the smaller one was left by Dionysus, the other by Hercules.² We did obeisance and went on, but had not gone far when we came upon a river of wine, just as like as could be to Chian.³ The stream was large and full, so that in places it was actually navigable. Thus we could not help having much greater faith in the inscription on the slab, seeing the evidence of Dionysus' visit. I resolved

¹ This paragraph is based on Iambulus (Diod. 2. 55).

² Cf. Herod. 4, 82; a footprint of Hercules, two cubits long.

³ Cf. Ctesias (Phot. cod. 72, 46 a).

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

καὶ ὅθεν ἄρχεται ὁ ποταμὸς καταμαθεῖν, ἀνῆεν παρὰ τὸ ρεῦμα, καὶ πηγὴν μὲν οὐδεμίαν εὗρον αὐτοῦ, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ μεγάλας ἀμπέλους, πλήρεις βοτρυῶν, παρὰ δὲ τὴν ρίζαν ἐκάστην ἀπέρρει σταγὼν οἴνου διαυγούς, ἀφ' ὧν ἐγίνετο ὁ ποταμός. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἰχθύς ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς ἰδεῖν, οἷνφ μάλιστα καὶ τὴν χρόαν καὶ τὴν γεῦσιν προσεικότας· ἡμεῖς γοῦν ἀγρεύσαντες αὐτῶν τινὰς καὶ ἐμφαγόντες ἐμεθύσθημεν· ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνατεμόντες αὐτοὺς εὐρίσκομεν τρυγὸς μεστούς. ὕστερον μέντοι ἐπινοήσαντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἰχθύς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος παραμυγνύντες ἐκεράννυμεν τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆς οἰνοφαγίας.

Τότε δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν διαπεράσαντες ἡ δια- 8
βατὸς ἦν, εὗρομεν ἀμπέλων χρῆμα τεράστιον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ὁ στέλεχος αὐτὸς εὐερνῆς καὶ παχύς, τὸ δὲ ἄνω γυναιῖκες ἦσαν, ὅσον ἐκ τῶν λαγόνων ἅπαντα ἔχουσιν τέλεια—τοιαύτην παρ' ἡμῖν τὴν Δάφνην γράφουσιν ἄρτι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καταλαμβάνοντος ἀποδενδρουμένην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δακτύλων ἄκρων ἐξεφύοντο αὐταῖς οἱ κλάδοι καὶ μεστοὶ ἦσαν βοτρυῶν. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐκόμων ἔλιξι τε καὶ φύλλοις καὶ βότρυσιν. προσελθόντας δὲ ἡμᾶς ἡσπάζοντό τε καὶ ἐδεξιούντο, αἱ μὲν Λύδιον, αἱ δ' Ἰνδικήν, αἱ πλείεσται δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν προϊέμεναι. καὶ ἐφίλουν δὲ ἡμᾶς τοῖς στόμασιν· ὁ δὲ φιληθεὶς αὐτίκα ἐμέθυεν καὶ παράφορος ἦν. δρέπεσθαι μέντοι οὐ παρείχον τοῦ καρποῦ, ἀλλ' ἤλγουν καὶ ἐβόων ἀποσπωμένου. αἱ δὲ καὶ μίγνυσθαι ἡμῖν ἐπεθύμουν· καὶ δύο τινὲς τῶν ἐταίρων πλησιάσαντες αὐταῖς οὐκέτι ἀπελύοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων ἐδέδεκτο· συνεφύοντο

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to find out where the river took its rise, and went up along the stream. What I found was not a source, but a number of large grapevines, full of clusters; beside the root of each flowed a spring of clear wine, and the springs gave rise to the river. There were many fish to be seen in it, very similar to wine in colour and in taste. In fact, on catching and eating some of them, we became drunk, and when we cut into them we found them full of lees, of course. Later on, we bethought ourselves to mix with them the other kind of fish, those from the water, and so temper the strength of our edible wine.

Next, after crossing the river at a place where it was fordable, we found something wonderful in grapevines. The part which came out of the ground, the trunk itself, was stout and well-grown, but the upper part was in each case a woman, entirely perfect from the waist up. They were like our pictures of Daphne turning into a tree when Apollo is just catching her. Out of their finger-tips grew the branches, and they were full of grapes. Actually, the hair of their heads was tendrils and leaves and clusters! When we came up, they welcomed and greeted us, some of them speaking Lydian, some Indian, but the most part Greek. They even kissed us on the lips, and everyone that was kissed at once became reeling drunk. They did not suffer us, however, to gather any of the fruit, but cried out in pain when it was plucked. Some of them actually wanted us to embrace them, and two of my comrades complied, but could not get away again. They were held fast by the part which had touched them, for it

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γὰρ καὶ συνερριζοῦντο. καὶ ἤδη αὐτοῖς κλάδοι ἐπεφύκεσαν οἱ δάκτυλοι, καὶ ταῖς ἔλιξι περιπλεκόμενοι ὅσον οὐδέπω καὶ αὐτοὶ καρποφορήσειν ἔμελλον. καταλιπόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ναῦν ἐφεύγομεν καὶ τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσιν διηγούμεθα ἔλθόντες τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τὴν ἀμπελομιξίαν. καὶ δὴ λαβόντες ἀμφορέας τινὰς καὶ ὑδρευσάμενοί τε ἅμα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰνισάμενοι καὶ αὐτοῦ πλησίον ἐπὶ τῆς ἡόνος αὐλίσάμενοι ἔωθεν ἀνιήχθημεν οὐ σφόδρα βιαίῳ πνεύματι.

Περὶ μεσημβρίαν δὲ οὐκέτι τῆς νήσου φαινομένης ἄφνω τυφὼν ἐπιγενόμενος καὶ περιδιδήσας τὴν ναῦν καὶ μετεωρίσας ὅσον ἐπὶ σταδίους τριακοσίους οὐκέτι καθῆκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀλλ' ἄνω μετέωρον ἐξηρτημένην ἄνεμος ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς ἰστίοις ἔφερεν κολπώσας τὴν ὀθόνην. ἐπτά δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς ἰσας νύκτας ἀεροδρομήσαντες, ὀγδόῃ καθορῶμεν γῆν τινα μεγάλην ἐν τῷ ἀέρι καθάπερ νήσον, λαμπρὰν καὶ σφαιροειδῆ καὶ φωτὶ μεγάλῳ καταλαμπομένην· προσενεχθέντες δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ὀρμισάμενοι ἀπέβημεν, ἐπισκοποῦντες δὲ τὴν χώραν εὐρίσκομεν οἰκουμένην τε καὶ γεωργουμένην. ἡμέρας μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτόθεν καθεωρῶμεν, νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης ἐφαίνοντο ἡμῖν καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ νῆσοι πλησίον, αἱ μὲν μείζους, αἱ δὲ μικρότεραι, πυρὶ τὴν χροιάν προσεικυῖαι, καὶ ἄλλη δέ τις γῆ κάτω, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ποταμοὺς ἔχουσα καὶ πελάγη καὶ ὕλας καὶ ὄρη. ταύτην οὖν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην εἰκάζομεν.

Δόξαν δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ἔτι πορρωτέρω προελθεῖν, συνελήφθημεν τοῖς Ἰππογύπιοις παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένοις ἀπαντήσαντες. οἱ δὲ Ἰππόγυπιοι οὗτοί εἰσιν

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had grown in and struck root. Already branches had grown from their fingers, tendrils entwined them, and they were on the point of bearing fruit like the others any minute. Leaving them in the lurch, we made off to the boat, and on getting there, told the men we had left behind about everything, including the affair of our comrades with the vines. Then, taking jars, we furnished ourselves not only with water but with wine from the river, encamped for the night on the beach close by, and at daybreak put to sea with a moderate breeze.

About noon, when the island was no longer in sight, a whirlwind suddenly arose, spun the boat about, raised her into the air about three hundred furlongs and did not let her down into the sea again; but while she was hung up aloft a wind struck her sails and drove her ahead with bellying canvas. For seven days and seven nights we sailed the air, and on the eighth day we saw a great country in it, resembling an island, bright and round and shining with a great light. Running in there and anchoring, we went ashore, and on investigating found that the land was inhabited and cultivated. By day nothing was in sight from the place, but as night came on we began to see many other islands hard by, some larger, some smaller, and they were like fire in colour. We also saw another country below, with cities in it and rivers and seas and forests and mountains. This we inferred to be our own world.

We determined to go still further inland, but we met what they call the Vulture Dragoons, and were arrested. These are men riding on large

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ἄνδρες ἐπὶ γυπῶν μεγάλων ὀχούμενοι καὶ καθάπερ
 ἵπποις τοῖς ὀρνέοις χρώμενοι· μεγάλοι γὰρ οἱ
 γύπες καὶ ὡς ἐπίπαν τρικέφαλοι. μάθοι δ' ἂν τις
 τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν ἐντεῦθεν· νεῶς γὰρ μεγάλης
 φορτίδος ἰστοῦ ἕκαστον τῶν πτερῶν μακρότερον
 καὶ παχύτερον φέρουσι. τούτοις οὖν τοῖς Ἰπ-
 πογύποις προστέτακται περιπετομένοις τὴν γῆν,
 εἴ τις εὐρεθείη ξένος, ἀνάγειν ὡς τὸν βασιλέα·
 καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς συλλαβόντες ἀναγοῦσιν ὡς αὐτόν.
 ὁ δὲ θεασάμενος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς στολῆς εἰκάσας,
 "Ἕλληνες ἄρα, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς, ὦ ξένοι; συμφησάντων
 δέ, Πῶς οὖν ἀφίκεσθε, ἔφη, τοσοῦτον ἀέρα διελ-
 θόντες; καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ πᾶν αὐτῷ διηγούμεθα· καὶ
 ὃς ἀρξάμενος τὸ καθ' αὐτόν ἡμῖν διεξήκει, ὡς καὶ
 αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ὢν τοῦνομα Ἐνδυμίων ἀπὸ τῆς
 ἡμετέρας γῆς καθεύδων ἀναρπασθείη ποτὲ καὶ
 ἀφικόμενος βασιλεύσειε τῆς χώρας· εἶναι δὲ τὴν
 γῆν ἐκείνην ἔλεγε τὴν ἡμῖν κάτω φαινομένην
 σελήνην. ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν τε παρεκελεύετο καὶ
 μηδένα κίνδυνον ὑφορᾶσθαι· πάντα γὰρ ἡμῖν
 παρέσεσθαι ὢν δεόμεθα. *Ἦν δὲ καὶ κατορ- 12
 θώσω, ἔφη, τὸν πόλεμον δν ἐκφέρω νῦν πρὸς τοὺς
 τὸν ἥλιον κατοικοῦντας, ἀπάντων εὐδαιμονέστατα
 παρ' ἐμοὶ καταβιώσεσθε. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἠρόμεθα τίνες
 εἶεν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς διαφορᾶς·
 Ὁ δὲ Φαέθων, φησὶν, ὁ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ κατοι-
 κούντων βασιλεὺς—οἰκεῖται γὰρ δὴ κάκεῖνος

A TRUE STORY, I

vultures and using the birds for horses. The vultures are large and for the most part have three heads : you can judge of their size from the fact that the mast of a large merchantman is not so long or so thick as the smallest of the quills they have.¹ The Vulture Dragoons are commissioned to fly about the country and bring before the king any stranger they may find, so of course they arrested us and brought us before him. When he had looked us over and drawn his conclusions from our clothes, he said : "Then you are Greeks, are you, strangers?" and when we assented, "Well, how did you get here, with so much air to cross?" We told him all, and he began and told us about himself : that he too was a human being, Endymion by name, who had once been ravished from our country in his sleep, and on coming there had been made king of the land. He said that his country was the moon that shines down on us.² He urged us to take heart, however, and suspect no danger, for we should have everything that we required. "And if I succeed," said he, "in the war which I am now making on the people of the sun, you shall lead the happiest of lives with me." We asked who the enemy were, and what the quarrel was about. "Phaethon," said he, "the king of the inhabitants of the sun—for it is inhabited,"³

¹ Cf. *Odys.* 9, 322 f.

² The story of Antonius Diogenes included a description of a trip to the moon (Phot. 111 a). Compare also Lucian's own *Icaromenippus*.

³ Cf. Lactantius 3, 23, 41 : "Seneca says that there have been Stoics who raised the question of ascribing to the sun a population of its own."

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ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ σελήνη — πολὺν ἤδη πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολεμεῖ χρόνον. ἤρξατο δὲ ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης· τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇ ἐμῇ ποτε τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους συναγαγὼν ἐβουλήθη ἀποικίαν εἰς τὸν Ἑωσφόρον στείλαι, ὄντα ἔρημον καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς κατοικούμενον· ὁ τοίνυν Φαέθων φθονήσας ἐκώλυσε τὴν ἀποικίαν κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον ἀπαντήσας ἐπὶ τῶν Ἱππομυρμίκων. τότε μὲν οὖν νικηθέντες — οὐ γὰρ ἦμεν ἀντίπαλοι τῇ παρασκευῇ — ἀνεχωρήσαμεν· νῦν δὲ βούλομαι αὐθις ἐξενεγκεῖν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν ἀποικίαν. ἦν οὖν ἐθέλητε, κοινωνήσατέ μοι τοῦ στόλου, γῦπας δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ παρέξω τῶν βασιλικῶν ἓνα ἐκάστῳ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὄπλισιν· αὐριον δὲ ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἔξοδον. Οὕτως, ἔφην ἐγώ, γιγνέσθω, ἐπειδὴ σοι δοκεῖ.

Τότε μὲν οὖν παρ' αὐτῷ ἐστιαθέντες ἐμείναμεν, 13
 ἔωθεν δὲ διαναστάντες ἐτασσόμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ σκοποὶ ἐσήμαινον πλησίον εἶναι τοὺς πολέμους. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς δέκα μυριάδες ἐγένοντο ἄνευ τῶν σκευοφόρων καὶ τῶν μηχανοποιῶν καὶ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ξένων συμμάχων· τούτων δὲ ὀκτακισμῦριοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ Ἱππόγυπτοι, δισμῦριοι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν Λαχανοπτέρων. ὄρνειον δὲ καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι μέγιστον, ἀντὶ τῶν πτερῶν λαχάνοις πάντῃ λάσιον, τὰ δὲ ὠκύπτερα ἔχει θριδακίνης φύλλοις μάλιστα προσεοικότα. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ Κεγχροβόλοι ἐτετάχατο καὶ οἱ Σκοροδομάχοι. ἦλθον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου σύμμαχοι, τρισμῦριοι μὲν. Ψυλλοτοξόται, πεντακισμῦριοι δὲ Ἀνεμοδρόμοι· τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν Ψυλλοτοξόται ἐπὶ

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you know, as well as the moon—has been at war with us for a long time now. It began in this way. Once upon a time I gathered together the poorest people in my kingdom and undertook to plant a colony on the Morning Star, which was empty and uninhabited. Phaethon out of jealousy thwarted the colonisation, meeting us half-way at the head of his Ant Dragoons. At that time we were beaten, for we were not a match for them in strength, and we retreated: now, however, I desire to make war again and plant the colony. If you wish, then, you may take part with me in the expedition and I will give each of you one of my royal vultures and a complete outfit. We shall take the field to-morrow.” “Very well,” said I, “since you think it best.”

That night we stopped there as his guests, but at daybreak we arose and took our posts, for the scouts signalled that the enemy was near. The number of our army was a hundred thousand, apart from the porters, the engineers, the infantry and the foreign allies; of this total, eighty thousand were Vulture Dragoons and twenty thousand Grassplumel-riders. The Grassplume is also a very large bird, which instead of plumage is all shaggy with grass and has wings very like lettuce-leaves. Next to these the Millet-shooters and the Garlic-fighters were posted. Endymion also had allies who came from the Great Bear—thirty thousand Flea-archers and fifty thousand Volplaneurs. The Flea-archers ride on great fleas,

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ψυλλῶν μεγάλων ἱππάζονται, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν
προσηγορίαν ἔχουσιν· μέγεθος δὲ τῶν ψυλλῶν
ὅσον δώδεκα ἐλέφαντες· οἱ δὲ Ἀνεμοδρόμοι πεζοὶ
μὲν εἰσιν, φέρονται δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ἄνευ πτερῶν· ὁ
δὲ τρόπος τῆς φορᾶς τοιόσδε. χιτῶνας ποδήρεις
ὑπεζωσμένοι κολπώσαντες αὐτοὺς τῷ ἀνέμῳ
καθάπερ ἰστία φέρονται ὥσπερ τὰ σκάφη. τὰ
πολλὰ δ' οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πελτασταί
εἰσιν. ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Καπ-
παδοκίαν ἀστέρων ἥξειν Στρουθοβάλανοι μὲν
ἐπτακισμύριοι, Ἱππογέρανοι δὲ πεντακισχίλιοι.
τούτους ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐθεασάμην· οὐ γὰρ ἀφίκοντο.
διόπερ οὐδὲ γράψαι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν ἐτόλμησα·
τεράστια γὰρ καὶ ἄπιστα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγετο.

Αὕτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος δύναμις ἦν. 14
σκευὴ δὲ πάντων ἡ αὕτη· κράνη μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν
κυάμων, μεγάλοι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ κύαμοι καὶ
καρτεροί· θώρακες δὲ φολιδωτοὶ πάντες θέρμιοι,
τὰ γὰρ λέπη τῶν θέρμων συρράπτοντες ποιοῦνται
θώρακας, ἄρρηκτον δὲ ἐκεῖ γίνεται τοῦ θέρμου τὸ
λέπος ὥσπερ κέρας· ἀσπίδες δὲ καὶ ξίφη οἷα 15
τὰ Ἑλληνικά. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν, ἐτάξαντο ὧδε·
τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον οἱ Ἱππόγυπτοι καὶ ὁ
Βασιλεὺς τοὺς ἀρίστους περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων· καὶ
ἡμεῖς ἐν τούτοις ἦμεν· τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον οἱ Λαχα-
νόπτεροι· τὸ μέσον δὲ οἱ σύμμαχοι ὡς ἐκάστοις
ἐδόκει. τὸ δὲ πεζὸν ἦσαν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑξακις-
χιλίας μυριάδας, ἐτάχθησαν δὲ οὕτως. ἀράχλαι
παρ' αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι γίνονται, πολὺ
τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἕκαστος μείζων. τούτοις

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from which they get their name; the fleas are as large as twelve elephants. The Volplaneurs are infantry, to be sure, but they fly in the air without wings. As to the manner of their flight, they pull their long tunics up through their girdles, let the baggy folds fill with wind as if they were sails, and are carried along like boats. For the most part they serve as light infantry in battle. It was said, too, that the stars over Cappadocia would send seventy thousand Sparrowcorns and five thousand Crane Dragoons. I did not get a look at them, as they did not come, so I have not ventured to write about their characteristics, for the stories about them were wonderful and incredible.¹

These were the forces of Endymion. They all had the same equipment—helmets of beans (their beans are large and tough); scale-corselets of lupines (they sew together the skins of lupines to make the corselets, and in that country the skin of the lupine is unbreakable, like horn); shields and swords of the Greek pattern. When the time came, they took position thus; on the right wing, the Vulture Dragoons and the king, with the bravest about him (we were among them); on the left, the Grassplumes; in the centre, the allies, in whatever formation they liked. The infantry came to about sixty million, and was deployed as follows. Spiders in that country are numerous and large, all of them far larger than the Cyclades islands. They were

¹ Compare the reticence of Herodotus (1, 193), Thucydides (3, 113, 6), and Tacitus (*Germ.* 46).

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προσέταξεν διυφῆναι τὸν μεταξὺ τῆς σελήνης καὶ τοῦ Ἑωσφόρου αέρα. ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐξειργάσαντο καὶ πεδίον ἐποίησαν, ἐπὶ τούτου παρέταξε τὸ πεζόν· ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Νυκτερίων ὁ Εὐδιάνακτος τρίτος αὐτός.

Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον εἶχον οἱ 16
Ἴππομύρμηκες καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς Φαέθων· θηρία δέ ἐστι μέγιστα, ὑπόπτερα, τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν μύρμηξι προσεικότα πλὴν τοῦ μεγέθους· ὁ γὰρ μέγιστος αὐτῶν καὶ δίπλεθρος ἦν. ἐμάχοντο δὲ οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα τοῖς κέρασιν· ἐλέγοντο δὲ οὗτοι εἶναι ἀμφὶ τὰς πέντε μυριάδας. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ αὐτῶν ἐτάχθησαν οἱ Ἀεροκώνωπες, ὄντες καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφὶ τὰς πέντε μυριάδας, πάντες τοξόται κώνωψι μεγάλοις ἐποχούμενοι· μετὰ δὲ τούτους οἱ Ἀεροκόρδακες, ψιλοὶ τε ὄντες καὶ πεζοί, πλὴν μάχιμοί γε καὶ οὗτοι· πόρρωθεν γὰρ ἐσφενδόνων ραφανίδας ὑπερμεγέθεις, καὶ ὁ βληθεὶς οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον¹ ἀντέχειν ἐδύνατο, ἀπέθνησκε δέ, καὶ δυσωδίας τινὸς τῷ τραύματι ἐγγινομένης· ἐλέγοντο δὲ χρίειν τὰ βέλη μαλάχης ἰῶ. ἐχόμενοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐτάχθησαν οἱ Καυλομύκητες, ὀπλίται ὄντες καὶ ἀγχέμαχοι, τὸ πλῆθος μύριοι· ἐκλήθησαν δὲ Καυλομύκητες, ὅτι ἀσπίσι μὲν μυκητίναῖς ἐχρῶντο, δόρασι δὲ καυλίνοις τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσπαράγων. πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Κυνοβάλανοι ἔστησαν, οὓς ἔπεμψαν αὐτῷ οἱ τὸν Σείριον κατοικοῦντες, πεντακισχίλιοι, ἄνδρες² κυνοπρόσωποι ἐπὶ βαλά-

¹ ἐπ' ὀλίγον Nilén : ὀλίγον Γ.

² ἄνδρες Nilén : καὶ οὗτοι ἄνδρες MSS.

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commissioned by the king to span the air between the Moon and the Morning Star with a web, and as soon as they had finished and had made a plain, he deployed his infantry on it. Their leaders were Owlett son of Fairweather, and two others.

As to the enemy, on the left were the Ant Dragoons, with whom was Phaethon. They are very large beasts with wings, like the ants that we have, except in size: the largest one was two hundred feet long.¹ They themselves fought, as well as their riders, and made especially good use of their feelers. They were said to number about fifty thousand. On their right were posted the Sky-mosquitoes, numbering also about fifty thousand, all archers riding on large mosquitoes. Next to them were the Sky-dancers, a sort of light infantry, formidable however, like all the rest, for they slung radishes at long range, and any man that they hit could not hold out a moment, but died, and his wound was malodorous. They were said to anoint their missiles with mallow poison. Beside them were posted the Stalk-mushrooms, heavy infantry employed at close quarters, ten thousand in number. They had the name Stalk-mushrooms because they used mushrooms for shields and stalks of asparagus for spears. Near them stood the Puppycorns, who were sent him by the inhabitants of the Dog-star, five thousand dog-faced men who fight on the back of winged acorns.²

¹ Herodotus (3, 102) tells of ants bigger than foxes.

² Herodotus (4, 191) tells of dog-headed men and of headless men with eyes in their breasts.

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νων πτερωτῶν μαχόμενοι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ κακείνων ὑστερίζειν τῶν συμμαχῶν οὓς τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Γαλαξίου μετεπέμπετο σφενδονήτας καὶ οἱ Νεφελοκένταυροι. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τῆς μάχης ἤδη κεκριμένης ἀφίκοντο, ὥς μήποτε ὤφελον· οἱ σφενδονῆται δὲ οὐδὲ ὅλως παρεγένοντο, διόπερ φασὶν ὑστερον αὐτοῖς ὀργισθέντα τὸν Φαέθοντα πυρπολῆσαι τὴν χώραν.

Τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ ὁ Φαέθων ἐπῆει παρασκευῇ. συμμίξαντες δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεία ἦρθη καὶ ὠγκήσαντο ἑκατέρων οἱ ὄνοι—τούτοις γὰρ ἀντὶ σαλπιστῶν χρώνται—ἐμάχοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλιωτῶν αὐτίκα ἔφυγεν οὐδ' εἰς χεῖρας δεξάμενον τοὺς Ἴππογύνπους, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰπόμεθα κτείνοντες· τὸ δεξιὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκράτει τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ εὐωνύμου, καὶ ἐπεξῆλθον οἱ Ἀεροκώνωπες διώκοντες ἄχρι πρὸς τοὺς πεζοὺς. ἐνταῦθα δὲ κακείνων ἐπιβοηθούντων ἔφυγον ἐγκλίναντες, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ σφῶν νενικημένους. τῆς δὲ τροπῆς λαμπρᾶς γεγενημένης πολλοὶ μὲν ζῶντες ἠλίσκοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνηροῦντο, καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἔρρει πολὺ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν νεφῶν, ὥστε αὐτὰ βάπτεσθαι καὶ ἐρυθρὰ φαίνεσθαι, οἷα παρ' ἡμῖν δυομένου τοῦ ἡλίου φαίνεται, πολὺ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέσταζεν, ὥστε με εἰκάζειν, μὴ ἄρα τοιούτου τινὸς καὶ πάλαι ἄνω γενομένου Ὅμηρος ὑπέλαβεν αἶματι ὑσαι τὸν Δία ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Σαρπηδόνος θανάτῳ.

Ἀναστρέψαντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως δύο τρόπαια ἐστήσαμεν, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀραχνίων τῆς πεζομαχίας, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀερομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ

A TRUE STORY, I

It was said that there were tardy allies in Phaethon's case, too—the slingers whom he had summoned from the Milky Way, and the Cloud-centaurs. The latter to be sure, arrived just after the battle was over (if only they had not!); but the slingers did not put in an appearance at all. On account of this, they say, Phaethon was furious with them and afterwards ravaged their country with fire.

This, then, was the array with which Phaethon came on. Joining battle when the flags had been flown and the donkeys on both sides had brayed (for they had donkeys for trumpeters), they fought. The left wing of the Sunites fled at once, without even receiving the charge of the Vulture Horse, and we pursued, cutting them down. But their right wing got the better of the left on our side, and the Sky-mosquitoes advanced in pursuit right up to the infantry. Then, when the infantry came to the rescue, they broke and fled, especially as they saw that the forces on their left had been defeated. It was a glorious victory, in which many were taken alive and many were slain; so much blood flowed on the clouds that they were dyed and looked red, as they do in our country when the sun is setting, and so much also dripped down on the earth that I wonder whether something of the sort did not take place in the sky long ago, when Homer supposed that Zeus had sent a rain of blood on account of the death of Sarpedon.¹

When we had returned from the pursuit we set up two trophies, one on the spider-webs for the infantry battle and the other, for the sky battle, on the clouds.

¹ *Il.* 16, 459.

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νεφῶν. ἄρτι δὲ τούτων γινομένων ἡγγέλλοντο ὑπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν οἱ Νεφελοκένταυροι προσελαύνοντες, οὓς ἔδει πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐλθεῖν τῷ Φαέθοντι. καὶ δὴ ἐφαίνοντο προσιόντες, θέαμα παραδοξότατον, ἐξ ἵππων πτερωτῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων συγκείμενοι· μέγεθος δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων ὅσον τοῦ Ῥοδίων κολοσσοῦ ἐξ ἡμισείας ἐς τὸ ἄνω, τῶν δὲ ἵππων ὅσον νεῶς μεγάλης φορτίδος. τὸ μέντοι πλήθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀνέγραψα, μή τῳ καὶ ἄπιστον δόξῃ—τοσοῦτον ἦν. ἡγείτο δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ τοξότης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθοντο τοὺς φίλους νενικημένους, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Φαέθοντα ἔπεμπον ἀγγελίαν αὐθις ἐπιέναι, αὐτοὶ δὲ διαταξάμενοι τεταραγμένοις ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς Σεληνίταις, ἀτάκτως¹ περὶ τὴν δίωξιν καὶ τὰ λάφυρα διεσκεδασμένοι· καὶ πάντας μὲν τρέπουσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα καταδιώκουσι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ὀρνέων αὐτοῦ κτείνουσιν· ἀνέσπασαν δὲ καὶ τὰ τρόπαια καὶ κατέδραμον ἅπαν τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀραχνῶν πεδίον ὑφασμένον, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ δύο τινὰς τῶν ἐταίρων ἐζώγρησαν. ἤδη δὲ παρῆν καὶ ὁ Φαέθων καὶ αὐθις ἄλλα τρόπαια ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἴστατο.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἀπηγόμεθα ἐς τὸν ἥλιον αὐθημερὸν τῷ χεῖρε ὀπίσω δεθέντες ἀραχνίου ἀποκόμματα. οἱ δὲ πολιορκεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὴν πόλιν, ἀναστρέψαντες δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀπετείχιζον, ὥστε μηκέτι τὰς αὐγὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν σελήνην διήκειν. τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἦν διπλοῦν, νεφελωτόν· ὥστε σαφὴς ἔκλειψις τῆς σελήνης ἐγεγόνει καὶ νυκτὶ διηνεκεῖ πᾶσα κατείχετο.

¹ ἀτάκτως Schwartz: ἀτάκτοis MSS.

A TRUE STORY, I

We were just doing this when the scouts reported that the Cloud-centaurs, who should have come to Phaethon's aid before the battle, were advancing on us. Before we knew it, they were coming on in plain sight, a most unparalleled spectacle, being a combination of winged horses and men. In size the men were as large as the Colossus of Rhodes from the waist up, and the horses were as large as a great merchantman. Their number, however, I leave unrecorded for fear that someone may think it incredible, it was so great. Their leader was the Archer from the Zodiac. When they saw that their friends had been defeated, they sent word to Phaethon to advance again, and then, on their own account, in regular formation fell on the disordered Moonites, who had broken ranks and scattered to pursue and to plunder. They put them all to flight, pursued the king himself to the city and killed most of his birds; they plucked up the trophies and overran the whole plain wqven by the spiders, and they captured me with two of my comrades. By this time Phaethon too was present, and other trophies were being set up by their side.

As for us, we were taken off to the sun that day, our hands tied behind our backs with a section of spider-web. The enemy decided not to lay siege to the city, but on their way back they built a wall through the air, so that the rays of the sun should no longer reach the moon. The wall was double, made of cloud, so that a genuine eclipse of the moon took place, and she was completely enshrouded

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πιεζόμενος δὲ τούτοις ὁ Ἐνδυμίων πέμψας ἰκέτευε
 καθαιρεῖν τὸ οἰκοδόμημα καὶ μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν ἐν
 σκότῳ βιοτεύοντας, ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ καὶ φόρους
 τελέσειν καὶ σύμμαχος ἔσεσθαι καὶ μηκέτι
 πολεμήσειν, καὶ ὁμήρους ἐπὶ τούτοις δοῦναι
 ἤθελεν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φαέθοντα γενομένης δις
 ἐκκλησίας τῇ προτεραίᾳ μὲν οὐδὲν παρέλυσαν τῆς
 ὀργῆς, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ δὲ μετέγνωσαν, καὶ ἐγένετο 20
 ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπὶ τούτοις· κατὰ τάδε συνθήκας
 ἐποιήσαντο Ἑλιῶται καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πρὸς
 Σεληνίτας καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἐπὶ τῷ καταλῦσαι
 μὲν τοὺς Ἑλιῶτας τὸ διατείχισμα καὶ μηκέτι ἐς
 τὴν σελήνην ἐσβάλλειν, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς
 αἰχμαλώτους ῥήτου ἕκαστον χρήματος, τοὺς δὲ
 Σεληνίτας ἀφεῖναι μὲν αὐτονόμους τοὺς γε
 ἄλλους¹ ἀστέρας, ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς
 Ἑλιῶταις, συμμαχεῖν δὲ τῇ ἀλλήλων, ἣν τις ἐπίη·
 φόρον δὲ ὑποτελεῖν ἐκάστου ἔτους τὸν βασιλέα
 τῶν Σεληνιτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἑλιωτῶν δρόσου
 ἀμφορέας μυρίους, καὶ ὁμήρους δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν
 δοῦναι μυρίους, τὴν δὲ ἀποικίαν τὴν ἐς τὸν
 Ἐωσφόρον κοινῇ ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μετέχειν τῶν
 ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον· ἐγγράφαι δὲ τὰς συνθή-
 κας στήλῃ ἡλεκτρίνῃ καὶ ἀναστῆσαι ἐν μέσῳ τῷ
 ἀέρι ἐπὶ τοῖς μεθορίοις. ὤμοσαν δὲ Ἑλιωτῶν μὲν
 Πυρωνίδης καὶ Θερείτης καὶ Φλόγιος, Σεληνιτῶν
 δὲ Νύκτωρ καὶ Μήνιος καὶ Πολυλάμπης.

¹ γε ἄλλους Γ: γε ἀλλήλους Ω. Not in other MSS.
 πλανητοὺς Schwartz.

A TRUE STORY, I

in unbroken night. Hard pressed by this, Endymion sent and begged them to pull down the construction and not let them lead their lives in darkness. He promised to pay tribute, to be an ally and not to make war again, and volunteered to give hostages for all this. Phaethon and his people held two assemblies; on the first day they did not lay aside a particle of their anger, but on the second day they softened, and the peace was made on these terms:¹

On the following conditions the Sunites and their allies make peace with the Moonites and their allies, to wit:

That the Sunites tear down the dividing-wall and do not invade the moon again, and that they make over the prisoners of war, each at a set ransom;

That the Moonites permit the stars to be autonomous, and do not make war on the Sunites;

That each country aid the other if it be attacked;

That in yearly tribute the King of the Moonites pay the King of the Sunites ten thousand gallons of dew, and that he give ten thousand of his people as hostages;

That the colony on the Morning Star be planted in common, and that anyone else who so desires may take part in it;

That the treaty be inscribed on a slab of electrum and set up in mid-air, on the common confines.

Attested under hand and seal.

(For the Sunites)

Firebrace

Parcher

Burns

(For the Moonites)

Darkling

Moony

Allbright

¹ Compare the Athenian-Spartan treaty, Thuc. 5, 18.

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Τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο· εὐθύς δὲ τὸ 21
 τεῖχος καθηρεῖτο καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
 ἀπέδωσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικόμεθα ἐς τὴν σελήνην,
 ὑπηντίαζον ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡσπάζοντο μετὰ δακρύων οἵ τε
 ἑταῖροι καὶ ὁ Ἐνδυμίων αὐτός. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡξίου με¹
 μείναι τε παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἀποικίας,
 ὑπισχνούμενος δώσειν πρὸς γάμον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
 παῖδα· γυναῖκες γὰρ οὐκ εἰσὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ δὲ
 οὐδαμῶς ἐπειθόμην, ἀλλ' ἡξίουν ἀποπεμφθῆναι
 κάτω ἐς τὴν θάλατταν. ὥς δὲ ἔγνω ἀδύνατον ὄν
 πείθειν, ἀποπέμπει ἡμᾶς ἐστιάσας ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας. 22

Ἄ δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ διατρίβων ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ
 κατενόησα καινὰ καὶ παράδοξα, ταῦτα βούλομαι
 εἰπεῖν. πρῶτα μὲν τὸ μὴ ἐκ γυναικῶν γεννᾶσθαι
 αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρρένων· γάμοις γὰρ τοῖς
 ἄρρεσι χρῶνται καὶ οὐδὲ ὄνομα γυναικὸς ὅλως
 ἴσασι. μέχρι μὲν οὖν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν
 γαμεῖται ἕκαστος, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γαμεῖ αὐτός·
 κύουσι δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῇ νηδυί, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς γαστροκνη-
 μίαις· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ συλλάβῃ τὸ ἔμβρυον, παχύ-
 νεται ἡ κνήμη, καὶ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἀνατεμώντες
 ἐξάγουσι νεκρά, θέντες δὲ αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀνεμον
 κεχηνότα ζωοποιοῦσιν. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ἐς τοὺς
 Ἑλληνας ἐκείθεν ἦκειν τῆς γαστροκνημίας τοῦνομα,
 ὅτι παρ' ἐκείνοις ἀντὶ γαστρὸς κυοφορεῖ. μείζον
 δὲ τούτου ἄλλο διηγήσομαι. γένος ἐστὶ παρ'
 αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώπων οἱ καλούμενοι Δενδρίται, γίνεται
 δὲ τὸν τρόπον τούτον. ὄρχιν ἀνθρώπου τὸν δεξιὸν
 ἀποτεμόντες ἐν γῇ φυτεύουσιν, ἐκ δὲ αὐτοῦ δένδρον

¹ με Herwerden : not in MSS.

A TRUE STORY, I

On those terms peace was made, and then the wall was torn down at once and we prisoners were restored. When we reached the moon we were met and tearfully welcomed by our comrades and by Endymion himself. He wanted me to stay with him and join the colony, promising to give me his own son in marriage—there are no women in their country. But I was not to be persuaded; I asked him to let me go down to the sea. When he perceived that he could not prevail on me, he let us go after entertaining us for seven days.

In the interval, while I was living on the moon, I observed some strange and wonderful things that I wish to speak of. In the first place there is the fact that they are not born of women but of men: they marry men and do not even know the word woman at all! Up to the age of twenty-five each is a wife, and thereafter a husband. They carry their children in the calf of the leg instead of the belly. When conception takes place the calf begins to swell. In course of time they cut it open and deliver the child dead, and then they bring it to life by putting it in the wind with its mouth open. It seems to me that the term "belly of the leg"¹ came to us Greeks from there, since the leg performs the function of a belly with them. But I will tell you something else, still more wonderful. They have a kind of men whom they call the Arboreals, who are brought into the world as follows: Exsecting a man's right genital gland, they plant it in the ground. From it grows a very large tree of

¹ *I.e.* calf of the leg.

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ἀναφύεται μέγιστον, σάρκινον, οἶον φαλλός· ἔχει δὲ καὶ κλάδους καὶ φύλλα· ὁ δὲ καρπός ἐστι βάλανοι πηχυαῖοι τὸ μέγεθος. ἐπειδὰν οὖν πεπανθῶσιν, τρυγήσαντες αὐτὰς ἐκκολάπτουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. αἰδοῖα μέντοι πρόσθετα ἔχουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐλεφάντινα, οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ξύλινα, καὶ διὰ τούτων ὀχεύουσι καὶ πλησιάζουσι τοῖς γαμέταις τοῖς ἑαυτῶν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ γηράσῃ ὁ 23 ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καπνὸς διαλυόμενος ἀήρ γίνεται. τροφή δὲ πᾶσιν ἡ αὐτή· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωσιν, βατράχους ὀπτῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθράκων· πολλοὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰσιν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι πετόμενοι· ὀπτωμένων δὲ περικαθεσθέντες ὥσπερ δὴ περὶ τράπεζαν κάπτουσι τὸν ἀναθυμῶμενον καπνὸν καὶ εὐωχοῦνται. σίτῳ μὲν δὴ τρέφονται τοιοῦτῳ· ποτὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἀήρ ἀποθλιβόμενος εἰς κύλικα καὶ ὑγρὸν ἀνιείς ὥσπερ δρόσον. οὐ μὴν ἀπουροῦσιν γε καὶ ἀφοδεύουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τέτρηνται ἤπερ ἡμεῖς, οὐδὲ τὴν συνουσίαν οἱ παῖδες ἐν ταῖς ἑδραῖς παρέχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἰγνύαις ὑπὲρ τὴν γαστροκνημίαν· ἐκεῖ γάρ εἰσι τετρημένοι.

Καλὸς δὲ νομίζεται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦν πού τις φαλακρὸς καὶ ἄκομος ἦ, τοὺς δὲ κομήτας καὶ μυσάττονται. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κομητῶν ἀστέρων τουναντίον τοὺς κομήτας καλοὺς νομίζουσιν· ἐπεδήμουν γάρ τινες, οἱ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων διηγοῦντο. καὶ μὴν καὶ γένεια φύουσιν μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τὰ γόνατα. καὶ ὄνυχας ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἰσὶν μονοδάκτυλοι. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὰς πυγὰς ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν κράμβη ἐκπέφυκε μακρὰ ὥσπερ οὐρά, θάλλουσα ἐς αἰὲ καὶ ὑπτίου ἀναπίπτουτος οὐ

A TRUE STORY, I

flesh, resembling the emblem of Priapus: it has branches and leaves, and its fruit is acorns a cubit thick. When these ripen, they harvest them and shell out the men. Another thing, they have artificial parts that are sometimes of ivory and sometimes, with the poor, of wood, and make use of them in their intercourse. When a man grows old, he does not die, but is dissolved like smoke and turns into air. They all eat the same food; they light a fire and cook frogs on the coals—they have quantities of frogs, that fly about in the air—and while they are cooking, they sit about them as if at table, snuff up the rising smoke and gorge themselves.¹ This is the food they eat, and their drink is air, which is squeezed into a cup and yields a liquid like dew. They are not subject to calls of nature, which, in fact, they have no means of answering. Another important function, too, is not provided for as one would expect, but in the hollow of the knee.

A man is thought beautiful in that country if he is bald and hairless, and they quite detest long-haired people. It is different on the comets, where they think long-haired people beautiful—there were visitors in the moon who told us about them.² Another point—they have beards that grow a little above the knee, and they have no toe-nails, but are all single-toed. Over each man's rump grows a long cabbage-leaf, like a tail, which is always green and

¹ Cf. Herod. 1, 202; 4, 75; Strabo 15, 1, 57.

² The point of this is that *κομήτης*, whence our word *comet*, means *long-haired*.

κατακλωμένη. ἀπομύττονται δὲ μέλι δρι- 24
 μύτατον· κἀπειδὰν ἢ πονῶσιν ἢ γυμνάζωνται,
 γάλακτι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα ἰδρῶσιν, ὥστε καὶ τυροὺς
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πηγνυσθαι, ὀλίγον τοῦ μέλιτος ἐπι-
 στάξαντες· ἔλαιον δὲ ποιοῦνται ἀπὸ τῶν κρομμύων
 πάνυ λιπαρόν τε καὶ εὐῶδες ὥσπερ μύρον. ἀμπέ-
 λους δὲ πολλὰς ἔχουσιν ὑδροφόρους· αἱ γὰρ ῥᾶγες
 τῶν βοτρυῶν εἰσὶν ὥσπερ χάλαζα, καί, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν,
 ἐπειδὰν ἐμπεσὼν ἄνεμος διασεῖσθαι τὰς ἀμπέλους
 ἐκείνας, τότε πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταπίπτει ἡ χάλαζα
 διαρραγέντων τῶν βοτρυῶν. τῇ μέντοι γαστρὶ
 ὅσα πῆρα χρῶνται τιθέντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὅσων δέονται·
 ἀνοικτὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς αὕτη καὶ πάλιν κλειστή ἐστίν·
 ἐντέρων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπάρχειν¹ αὐτῇ φαίνεται, ἢ
 τοῦτο μόνον, ὅτι δασεῖα πᾶσα² ἔντοσθε καὶ λάσιός
 ἐστίν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ νεογνά, ἐπειδὰν ῥίγος ᾗ,³ ἐς
 ταύτην ὑποδύεται.

Ἐσθῆς δὲ τοῖς μὲν πλουσίοις ὑαλίνη μαλ- 25
 θακὴ, τοῖς πένησι δὲ χαλκὴ ὑφαντή· πολὺ-
 χαλκα γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία, καὶ ἐργάζονται τὸν
 χαλκὸν ὕδατι ἀποβρέξαντες ὥσπερ τὰ ἔρια.
 περὶ μέντοι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, οἷους ἔχουσιν, ὁκνῶ
 μὲν εἰπεῖν, μή τις με νομίση ψεῦδεσθαι διὰ
 τὸ ἄπιστον τοῦ λόγου. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐρῶ·
 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς περιαιρετοὺς ἔχουσι, καὶ ὁ βουλό-
 μενος ἐξελὼν τοὺς αὐτοῦ φυλάττει ἔστ' ἂν δεηθῇ
 ἰδεῖν· οὕτω δὲ ἐνθέμενος ὁρᾷ· καὶ πολλοὶ τοὺς
 σφετέρους ἀπολέσαντες παρ' ἄλλων χρησάμενοι
 ὁρῶσιν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποθέτους ἔχουσιν,

¹ ἐντέρων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπάρχειν Schwartz: ἔντερον δὲ οὐδὲ ἦπαρ
 ἐν MSS.

² πᾶσα omitted by Ω and Nilén.

³ ῥίγος ᾗ Nilén: ῥιγῶση MSS.

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does not break if he falls on his back. Their noses run honey of great pungency, and when they work or take exercise, they sweat milk all over their bodies, of such quality that cheese can actually be made from it by dripping in a little of the honey. They make oil from onions, and it is very clear and sweet-smelling, like myrrh. They have many water-vines, the grapes of which are like hailstones, and to my thinking, the hail that falls down on us is due to the bursting of the bunches when a wind strikes and shakes those vines. They use their bellies for pockets, putting into them anything they have use for, as they can open and shut them. These parts do not seem to have any intestines in them or anything else, except that they are all shaggy and hairy inside, so that the children enter them when it is cold.

The clothing of the rich is malleable glass¹ and that of the poor, spun bronze; for that region is rich in bronze, which they work like wool by wetting it with water. I am reluctant to tell you what sort of eyes they have, for fear that you may think me lying on account of the incredibility of the story, but I will tell you, notwithstanding. The eyes that they have are removable, and whenever they wish they take them out and put them away until they want to see: then they put them in and look. Many, on losing their own, borrow other people's to see with, and the rich folk keep a quantity

¹ Lucian's glass clothing (*ὄαλινη*) is a punning parody on wooden clothing (*ξύλινη*), i.e. cotton (Herod. 7, 65).

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οἱ πλούσιοι. τὰ ὦτα δὲ πλατάνων φύλλα ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς πλήν γε τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν βαλάνων· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ μόνοι ξύλινα ἔχουσιν. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄλλο 26
θαῦμα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐθεασάμην· κάτοπτρον μέγιστον κεῖται ὑπὲρ φρέατος οὐ πάνυ βαθέος. ἂν μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ φρέαρ καταβῇ τις, ἀκούει πάντων τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ γῇ λεγομένων, εἰ δὲ εἰς τὸ κάτοπτρον ἀποβλέψῃ, πάσας μὲν πόλεις, πάντα δὲ ἔθνη ὁρᾷ ὥσπερ ἐφεστὼς ἐκάστοις· τότε καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐγὼ ἐθεασάμην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πατρίδα, εἰ δὲ ἀκείνοι ἐμὲ ἑώρων, οὐκέτι ἔχω τὸ ἀσφαλὲς εἰπεῖν. ὅστις δὲ ταῦτα μὴ πιστεύει οὕτως ἔχειν, ἂν ποτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκείσε ἀφίκηται, εἴσεται ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω.

Τότε δ' οὖν ἀσπασάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ 27
τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ἐμβάντες ἀνήχθημεν· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἔδωκεν ὁ Ἐνδυμίων, δύο μὲν τῶν ὑαλίνων χιτώνων, πέντε δὲ χαλκοῦς, καὶ πανοπλίαν θερμίνην, ἃ πάντα ἐν τῷ κήτει κατέλιπον. συνέπεμψε δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ Ἱππογύπους χιλίους παραπέμψοντας ἄχρι σταδίων πεντακοσίων. ἐν δὲ τῷ παρά- 28
πλῳ πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας χώρας παρημέψαμεν, προσέσχομεν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἑωσφορῷ ἄρτι συνοικιζομένῳ, καὶ ἀποβάντες ὑδρευσάμεθα. ἐμβάντες δὲ εἰς τὸν ζωδιακὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρήειμεν τὸν ἥλιον, ἐν χρῶ τὴν γῆν παραπλέοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἀπέβημεν καί τοι πολλὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐπιθυμούντων, ἀλλ' ὁ ἄνεμος οὐκ ἐφῆκεν. ἐθεώμεθα μέντοι τὴν χώραν εὐθαλῇ τε καὶ πίονα καὶ εὐνδρον καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν μεστήν. ἰδόντες δ' ἡμᾶς οἱ Νεφελοκένταυροι, μισθοφοροῦντες παρὰ τῷ Φαέθοντι, ἐπέ-

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stored up.¹ For ears they have plane-leaves, except only the acorn-men, who have wooden ones. In the royal purlieus I saw another marvel. A large looking-glass is fixed above a well, which is not very deep. If a man goes down into the well, he hears everything that is said among us on earth, and if he looks into the looking-glass he sees every city and every country just as if he were standing over it. When I tried it I saw my family and my whole native land, but I cannot go further and say for certain whether they also saw me. Anyone who does not believe this is so will find, if ever he gets there himself, that I am telling the truth.

To go back to my story, we embraced the king and his friends, went aboard, and put off. Endymion even gave me presents—two of the glass tunics, five of bronze, and a suit of lupine armour—but I left them all behind in the whale. He also sent a thousand Vulture Dragoons with us to escort us for sixty miles. On our way we passed many countries and put in at the Morning Star, which was just being colonised. We landed there and procured water. Going aboard and making for the zodiac, we passed the sun to port, hugging the shore. We did not land, though many of my comrades wanted to; for the wind was unfavourable. But we saw that the country was green and fertile and well-watered, and full of untold good things. On seeing us, the Cloud-centaurs, who had entered the service of Phaethon,

¹ Compare the story of the Graeae.

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πτησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, καὶ μαθόντες ἐνσπόνδους ἀνεχώρησαν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰππόγυπιοι ἀπε- 29
ληλύθεσαν.

Πλεύσαντες δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, περὶ ἐσπέραν ἀφικόμεθα εἰς τὴν Λυχνόπολιν καλουμένην, ἣ δὴ τὸν κάτω πλοῦν διώκοντες. ἡ δὲ πόλις αὕτη κεῖται μεταξὺ τοῦ Πλειάδων καὶ τοῦ Ἰάδων ἀέρος, ταπεινότερα μέντοι πολὺ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ. ἀποβάντες δὲ ἄνθρωπον μὲν οὐδένα εὗρομεν, λύχνους δὲ πολλοὺς περιθέοντας καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ περὶ τὸν λιμένα διατρίβοντας, τοὺς μὲν μικροὺς καὶ ὥσπερ πένητας, ὀλίγους δὲ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ δυνατῶν πάνυ λαμπροὺς καὶ περιφανεῖς. οἰκήσεις δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ λυχνεῶνες ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ πεποίητο, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὀνόματα εἶχον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ φωνὴν προιεμένων ἠκούομεν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ἠδίκουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια ἐκάλουν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ὅμως ἐφοβούμεθα, καὶ οὔτε δειπνῆσαι οὔτε ὑπνῶσαί τις ἡμῶν ἐτόλμησεν. ἀρχεῖα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει πεποιήται, ἔνθα ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν διὰ νυκτὸς ὅλης κάθηται ὀνομαστὶ καλῶν ἕκαστον· ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ ὑπακούσῃ, καταδικάζεται ἀποθανεῖν ὡς λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν· ὁ δὲ θάνατός ἐστι σβεσθῆναι. παρεστῶτες δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐωρῶμεν τὰ γινόμενα καὶ ἠκούομεν ἅμα τῶν λύχνων ἀπολογουμένων καὶ τὰς αἰτίας λεγόντων δι' ἃς ἐβράδυνον. ἔνθα καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λύχνον ἐγνώρισα, καὶ προσειπὼν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν κατ' οἶκον ἐπυνθανόμην ὅπως ἔχοιεν· ὁ δέ μοι ἅπαντα ἐκεῖνα διηγῆσατο.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν νύκτα ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ ἐμείναμεν, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἄραντες ἐπλέομεν ἤδη πλησίον τῶν

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flew up to the ship and then went away again when they found out that the treaty protected us. The Vulture Dragoons had already left us.

Sailing the next night and day we reached Lamp-town toward evening, already being on our downward way. This city lies in the air midway between the Pleiades and the Hyades, though much lower than the Zodiac. On landing, we did not find any men at all, but a lot of lamps running about and loitering in the public square and at the harbour. Some of them were small and poor, so to speak : a few, being great and powerful, were very splendid and conspicuous. Each of them has his own house, or sconce, they have names like men, and we heard them talking. They offered us no harm, but invited us to be their guests. We were afraid, however, and none of us ventured to eat a mouthful or close an eye. They have a public building in the centre of the city, where their magistrate sits all night and calls each of them by name, and whoever does not answer is sentenced to death for deserting. They are executed by being put out. We were at court, saw what went on, and heard the lamps defend themselves and tell why they came late. There I recognised our own lamp: I spoke to him and enquired how things were at home, and he told me all about them.

That night we stopped there, but on the next day we set sail and continued our voyage. By this time

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νεφῶν· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὴν Νεφελοκοκκυγίαν πόλιν
 ἰδόντες ἐθαυμάσαμεν, οὐ μέντοι ἐπέβημεν αὐτῆς·
 οὐ γὰρ εἶα τὸ πνεῦμα. βασιλεύειν μέντοι αὐτῶν
 ἐλέγετο Κόρωνος ὁ Κοττυφίωνος. καὶ ἐγὼ ἐμνή-
 σθην Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ
 καὶ ἀληθοῦς καὶ μάτην ἐφ' οἷς ἔγραψεν ἀπιστου-
 μένου. τρίτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμέρα καὶ τὸν
 ὠκεανὸν ἤδη σαφῶς ἐωρῶμεν, γῆν δὲ οὐδαμοῦ,
 πλήν γε τῶν ἐν τῷ αἱρί· καὶ αὐταὶ δὲ πυρῳδαίς
 καὶ ὑπεραυγεῖς ἐφαντάζοντο. τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ περὶ
 μεσημβρίαν μαλακῶς ἐνδιδόντος τοῦ πνεύματος
 καὶ συνιζάνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν καθείθημεν.¹
 ὥς δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐψαύσαμεν, θαυμασίως ὑπερ- 30
 ἠδόμεθα καὶ ὑπερεχαίρομεν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν
 παρόντων εὐφροσύνην ἐποιούμεθα καὶ ἀποβάντες
 ἐνηχόμεθα· καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχε γαλήνη οὐσα καὶ εὐ-
 σταθοῦν τὸ πέλαγος.

Ἔοικε δὲ ἀρχὴ κακῶν μειζόνων γίνεσθαι
 πολλάκις ἢ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολή· καὶ γὰρ
 ἡμεῖς δύο μόνας ἡμέρας ἐν εὐδία πλεύσαντες, τῆς
 τρίτης ὑποφαινούσης πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τὸν ἥλιον
 ἄφνω ὀρῶμεν θηρία καὶ κήτη πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα,
 ἐν δὲ μέγιστον ἀπάντων ὅσον σταδίων χιλίων καὶ
 πεντακοσίων τὸ μέγεθος· ἐπῆει δὲ κεχηνὸς καὶ
 πρὸ πολλοῦ ταραττον τὴν θάλατταν ἀφρῶ τε
 περικλυζόμενον καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐκφαίνον πολὺν
 τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν φαλλῶν ὑψηλοτέρους, ὅξεῖς δὲ
 πάντας ὥσπερ σκόλοπας καὶ λευκοὺς ὥσπερ
 ἐλεφαντίνους. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν τὸ ὕστατον ἀλλή-
 λους προσειπόντες καὶ περιβαλόντες ἐμένομεν· τὸ

¹ καθείθημεν Richards : κατέθημεν, κατετέθημεν MSS.

A TRUE STORY, I

we were near the clouds. There we saw the city of Cloudecuckootown,¹ and wondered at it, but did not visit it, as the wind did not permit. The king, however, was said to be Crow Dawson. It made me think of Aristophanes the poet, a wise and truthful man whose writings are distrusted without reason. On the next day but one, the ocean was already in plain sight, but no land anywhere except the countries in the air, and they began to appear fiery and bright. Toward noon on the fourth day the wind fell gently and gave out, and we were set down on the sea. When we touched the water we were marvellously pleased and happy, made as merry as we could in every way, and went over the side for a swim, for by good luck it was calm and the sea was smooth.

It would seem, however, that a change for the better often proves a prelude to greater ills. We had sailed just two days in fair weather and the third day was breaking when toward sunrise we suddenly saw a number of sea-monsters, whales. One among them, the largest of all, was fully one hundred and fifty miles long. He came at us with open mouth, dashing up the sea far in advance, foam-washed, showing teeth much larger than the emblems of Dionysus in our country,² and all sharp as calthrops and white as ivory. We said good-bye to one another, embraced, and waited. He was there in an

¹ The capital of Birdland in Aristophanes' play, *The Birds*.

² On the size of these, see Lucian's *Syrian Goddess*, 28.

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δὲ ἤδη παρὴν καὶ ἀναρροφήσαν ἡμᾶς αὐτῇ νηὶ κατέπιεν. οὐ μέντοι ἔφθη συναράξαι τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἀραιωμάτων ἢ ναῦς ἐς τὸ ἔσω διεξέπεσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔνδον ἦμεν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον 31 σκότος ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐωρῶμεν, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀναχανόντος εἶδομεν κύτος μέγα καὶ πάντῃ πλατὺ καὶ ὑψηλόν, ἱκανὸν μυριάνδρῳ πόλει ἐνοικεῖν. ἔκειντο δὲ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ¹ ἰχθύες καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ θηρία συγκεκομμένα, καὶ πλοίων ἰστία καὶ ἄγκυραι, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὅστέα καὶ φορτία, κατὰ μέσον δὲ καὶ γῆ καὶ λόφοι ἦσαν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐκ τῆς ἰλῦος ἦν κατέπινε συνιζάνουσα. ὕλη γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῆς καὶ δένδρα παντοῖα ἐπεφύκει καὶ λάχανα ἐβεβλαστήκει, καὶ ἐφῶκει πάντα ἐξειργασμένοις· περίμετρον δὲ τῆς γῆς στάδιοι διακόσιοι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν καὶ ὄρνεα θαλάττια, λάρους καὶ ἀλκυνόνας, ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων νεοττεύοντα.

Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐδακρύομεν, ὕστερον 32 δὲ ἀναστήσαντες τοὺς ἐταίρους τὴν μὲν ναῦν ὑπεστηρίξαμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ πυρεῖα συντρίψαντες καὶ ἀνακαύσαντες δεῖπνον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐποιοῦμεθα. παρέκειτο δὲ ἄφθονα καὶ παντοδαπὰ κρέα τῶν ἰχθύων, καὶ ὕδωρ ἔτι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἑωσφόρου εἶχομεν. τῇ ἐπιούσῃ δὲ διαναστάντες, εἴ ποτε ἀναχάνοι τὸ κῆτος, ἐωρῶμεν ἄλλοτε μὲν ὄρη, ἄλλοτε δὲ μόνον τὸν οὐρανόν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ νήσους· καὶ γὰρ ἠσθανόμεθα φερομένου αὐτοῦ ὀξέως πρὸς πᾶν μέρος τῆς θαλάττης. ἐπεὶ δὲ

¹ μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ Schwartz : μικροὶ MSS.

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instant, and with a gulp swallowed us down, ship and all. He just missed crushing us with his teeth, but the boat slipped through the gaps between them into the interior. When we were inside, it was dark at first, and we could not see anything, but afterwards, when he opened his mouth, we saw a great cavity, flat all over and high, and large enough for the housing of a great city. In it there were fish, large and small, and many other creatures all mangled, ships' rigging and anchors, human bones, and merchandise. In the middle there was land with hills on it, which to my thinking was formed of the mud that he had swallowed. Indeed, a forest of all kinds of trees had grown on it, garden stuff had come up, and everything appeared to be under cultivation. The coast of the island was twenty-seven miles long. Sea-birds were to be seen nesting on the trees, gulls and kingfishers.¹

At first we shed tears for a long time, and then I roused my comrades and we provided for the ship by shoring it up and for ourselves by rubbing sticks together, lighting a fire and getting dinner as best we could. We had at hand plenty of fish of all kinds, and we still had the water from the Morning Star. On rising the next day, whenever the whale opened his mouth we saw mountains one moment, nothing but sky the next, and islands frequently, and we perceived by this that he was rushing swiftly to all parts of the sea. When we finally tired of this

¹ This story of the whale is no longer considered a parody on Jonah's adventure, as there were other versions of the tale afloat in antiquity.

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ἤδη ἐθάδες τῇ διατριβῇ ἐγενόμεθα, λαβὼν ἐπτὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐβάδιζον ἐς τὴν ὕλην περισκοπήσασθαι τὰ πάντα βουλόμενος. οὐπω δὲ πέντε ὅλους διελθὼν σταδίους εὗρον ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς ἐδήλου ἢ ἐπιγραφῇ, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ τάφους πολλοὺς καὶ στήλας ἐπ' αὐτῶν πλησίον τε πηγὴν ὕδατος διαυγοῦς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ κυνὸς ὑλακὴν ἠκούομεν καὶ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο πόρρωθεν καὶ τινα καὶ ἔπανλιν εἰκάζομεν.

Σπουδῇ οὖν βαδίζοντες ἐφιστάμεθα πρεσβύτῃ 33 καὶ νεανίσκῳ μάλα προθύμως πρασιάν τινα ἐργαζομένοις καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἐπ' αὐτὴν διοχετεύουσιν· ἡσθέντες οὖν ἅμα καὶ φοβηθέντες ἔστημεν· κἀκεῖνοι δὲ ταὐτὸ ἡμῖν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς παθόντες ἀναῖνδοι παρειστήκεσαν· χρόνῳ δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔφη, Τίνες ὑμεῖς ἄρα ἐστέ, ὦ ξένοι; πότερον τῶν ἐναλίων δαιμόνων ἢ ἀνθρωποὶ δυστυχεῖς ἡμῖν παραπλησίιοι; καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀνθρωποὶ ὄντες καὶ ἐν γῇ τραφέντες νῦν θαλάττιοι γεγόναμεν καὶ συννηχόμεθα τῷ περιέχοντι τούτῳ θηρίῳ, οὐδ' ὁ πάσχομεν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες· τεθνάναι μὲν γὰρ εἰκάζομεν, ζῆν δὲ πιστεύομεν. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐγὼ εἶπον· Καὶ ἡμεῖς τοὶ ἀνθρωποὶ, νεήλυδες μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, αὐτῷ σκάφει πρῶν καταποθέντες, προήλθομεν δὲ νῦν βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν τὰ ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ ὡς ἔχει· πολλὴ γάρ τις καὶ λάσιος ἐφαίνετο. δαίμων δέ τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡμᾶς ἤγαγεν σέ τε ὀψομένους καὶ εἰσομένους ὅτι μὴ μόνοι ἐν τῷδε καθεύρουμεθα τῷ θηρίῳ· ἀλλὰ φράσον γε ἡμῖν τὴν σαντοῦ τύχην, ὅστις τε ὦν καὶ ὅπως δεῦρο εἰσῆλθες. ὁ δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἔφη ἐρεῖν οὐδὲ πεύσεσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν, πρὶν ξενίων τῶν παρόντων μεταδοῦναι, καὶ

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pastime I took seven of my comrades and went into the forest, wishing to have a look everything. I had not yet gone quite five furlongs when I found a temple of Poseidon, as the inscription indicated, and not far from it a number of graves with stones on them. Near by was a spring of clear water. We also heard the barking of a dog, smoke appeared in the distance, and we made out something like a farmhouse, too.

Advancing eagerly, we came upon an old man and a boy very busily at work in a garden which they were irrigating with water from the spring. Joyful and fearful at the same instant, we stopped still, and they too, probably feeling the same as we, stood there without a word. In course of time the old man said: "Who are you, strangers? Are you sea-gods, or only unlucky men like us? As for ourselves, though we are men and were bred on land, we have become sea-creatures and swim about with this beast which encompasses us, not even knowing for certain what our condition is—we suppose that we are dead, but trust that we are alive." To this I replied: "We too are men, my good sir—newcomers, who were swallowed up yesterday, ship and all: and we set out just now with the notion of finding out how things were in the forest, for it appeared to be very large and thick. But some divinity, it seems, brought us to see you and to discover that we are not the only people shut up in this animal. Do tell us your adventures—who you are and how you got in here." But he said he would neither tell us nor question us before giving us what entertainment he could command, and he

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λαβὼν ἡμᾶς ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν—ἐπεποίητο δὲ αὐτάρκη καὶ στιβάδας ἐνφοδόμητο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξήρτιστο—παραθεῖς δὲ ἡμῖν λάχανά τε καὶ ἀκρόδρυα καὶ ἰχθῦς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἶνον ἐγχέας, ἐπειδὴ ἱκανῶς ἐκορέσθημεν, ἐπυνθάνετο ἂ πεπόνθοιμεν· κἀγὼ πάντα ἐξῆς διηγησάμην, τὸν τε χειμῶνα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι πλοῦν, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέχρι τῆς εἰς τὸ κῆτος καταδύσεως.

‘Ο δὲ ὑπερθανυμάσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν μέρει τὰ καθ’ 34 αὐτὸν διεξῆει λέγων, Τὸ μὲν γένος εἰμὶ, ὦ ξένοι, Κύπριος, ὀρμηθεὶς δὲ κατ’ ἐμπορίαν ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος μετὰ παιδός, ὃν ὁρᾶτε, καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν οἰκετῶν ἔπλεον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ποικίλον φόρτον κομίζων ἐπὶ νεῶς μεγάλης, ἣν ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ κήτους διαλελυμένην ἴσως ἐωράκατε. μέχρι μὲν οὖν Σικελίας εὐτυχῶς διεπλεύσαμεν· ἐκείθεν δὲ ἀρπασθέντες ἀνέμῳ σφοδρῷ τριταῖοι ἐς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀπηνέχθημεν, ἔνθα τῷ κήτει περιτυχόντες καὶ αὐτανδροὶ καταποθέντες δύο ἡμεῖς μόνοι, τῶν ἄλλων ἀποθανόντων, ἐσώθημεν. θάψαντες δὲ τοὺς ἐταίρους καὶ ναὸν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι δειμάμενοι τουτοῦ τὸν βίον ζῶμεν, λάχανα μὲν κηπεύοντες, ἰχθῦς δὲ σιτούμενοι καὶ ἀκρόδρυα. πολλή δέ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ἡ ὕλη, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἀμπέλους ἔχει πολλάς, ἀφ’ ὧν ἡδύτατος οἶνος γεννᾶται· καὶ τὴν πηγὴν δὲ ἴσως εἶδετε καλλίστου καὶ ψυχροτάτου ὕδατος. εὐνὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν φύλλων ποιούμεθα, καὶ πῦρ ἄφθονον καίομεν, καὶ ὄρνεα δὲ θηρεύομεν τὰ εἰσπετόμενα, καὶ ζῶντας ἰχθῦς ἀγρεύομεν ἐξιόντες ἐπὶ τὰ βραγχία τοῦ θηρίου, ἔνθα καὶ λουόμεθα, ὅπότεν ἐπιθυμήσωμεν. καὶ μὴν καὶ λίμνη οὐ πόρρω ἐστὶν

A TRUE STORY, I

took us with him to the house. It was a commodious structure, had bunks built in it and was fully furnished in other ways. He set before us vegetables, fruit and fish and poured us out wine as well. When we had had enough, he asked us what had happened to us. I told him about everything from first to last—the storm, the island, the cruise in the air, the war and all the rest of it up to our descent into the whale.

He expressed huge wonder, and then told us his own story, saying: "By birth, strangers, I am a Cypriote. Setting out from my native land on a trading venture with my boy whom you see and with many servants besides, I began a voyage to Italy, bringing various wares on a great ship, which you no doubt saw wrecked in the mouth of the whale. As far as Sicily we had a fortunate voyage, but there we were caught by a violent wind and driven out into the ocean for three days, where we fell in with the whale, were swallowed up crew and all, and only we two survived, the others being killed. We buried our comrades, built a temple to Poseidon and live this sort of life, raising vegetables and eating fish and nuts. As you see, the forest is extensive, and besides, it contains many grape-vines, which yield the sweetest of wine. No doubt you noticed the spring of beautiful cold water, too. We make our bed of leaves, burn all the wood we want, snare the birds that fly in, and catch fresh fish by going into the gills of the animal. We also bathe there when we care to. Another thing, there is a

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σταδίων εἴκοσι τὴν περίμετρον, ἰχθῦς ἔχουσα
 παντοδαπούς, ἐν ἧ καὶ νηχόμεθα καὶ πλέομεν ἐπὶ
 σκάφους μικροῦ, ὃ ἐγὼ ναυπηγησάμην. ἔτη δέ
 ἐστὶν ἡμῖν τῆς καταπόσεως ταῦτα ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι.
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἴσως φέρειν δυνάμεθα, οἱ δέ 35
 γείτονες ἡμῶν καὶ πάροιχοι σφόδρα χαλεποὶ καὶ
 βαρεῖς εἰσιν, ἄμικτοί τε ὄντες καὶ ἄγριοι. Ἡ γάρ,
 ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ ἄλλοι τινές εἰσιν ἐν τῷ κήτει;
 Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, καὶ ἄξενοι καὶ τὰς μορφὰς
 ἀλλόκοτοι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐσπέρια τῆς ὕλης καὶ
 οὐραῖα Ταριχᾶνες οἰκοῦσιν, ἔθνος ἐγγελυωπὸν
 καὶ караβοπρόσωπον, μάχιμον καὶ θρασὺ καὶ
 ὠμοφάγον· τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας πλευρᾶς κατὰ
 τὸν δεξιὸν τοῖχον Τριτωνομένδητες, τὰ μὲν
 ἄνω ἀνθρώποις ἐοικότες, τὰ δὲ κάτω τοῖς γαλεώ-
 ταις, ἦττον μέντοι ἄδικοί εἰσιν τῶν ἄλλων· τὰ
 λαιὰ δὲ Καρκινόχειρες καὶ Θυννοκέφαλοι συμ-
 μαχίαν τε καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένοι·
 τὴν δὲ μεσόγαιαν νέμονται Παγουρίδαι καὶ Ψηττό-
 ποδες, γένος μάχιμον καὶ δρομικώτατον· τὰ ἐῷα
 δέ, τὰ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι, τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἔρημά
 ἐστὶ, προσκλυζόμενα τῇ θαλάττῃ· ὅμως δὲ ἐγὼ
 ταῦτα ἔχω φόρον τοῖς Ψηττόποσιν ὑποτελῶν
 ἐκάστου ἔτους ὅστρεια πεντακόσια. τοιαύτη 36
 μὲν ἡ χώρα ἐστίν· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ ὁρᾶν ὅπως
 δυνησόμεθα τοσούτοις ἔθνεσι μάχεσθαι καὶ ὅπως
 βιοτεύσομεν. Πόσοι δέ, ἔφην ἐγώ, πάντες οὗτοί
 εἰσιν; Πλείους, ἔφη, τῶν χιλίων. Ὅπλα δὲ τίνα
 ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς; Οὐδέν, ἔφη, πλὴν τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν

A TRUE STORY, I

lake not far off, twenty furlongs in circumference, with all kinds of fish in it, where we swim and sail in a little skiff that I made. It is now twenty-seven years since we were swallowed. Everything else is perhaps endurable, but our neighbours and fellow-countrymen are extremely quarrelsome and unpleasant, being unsociable and savage." "What!" said I, "are there other people in the whale, too?" "Why, yes, lots of them," said he; "they are unfriendly and are oddly built. In the western part of the forest, the tail part, live the Broilers, an eel-eyed, lobster-faced people that are warlike and bold, and are cannibals. On one side, by the starboard wall, live the Mergoats,¹ like men above and catfish below: they are not so wicked as the others. To port there are the Crabclaws and the Codheads, who are friends and allies with each other. The interior is inhabited by Clan Crawfish and the Solefeet, good fighters and swift runners. The eastern part, that near the mouth, is mostly uninhabited, as it is subject to inundations of the sea. I live in it, however, paying the Solefeet a tribute of five hundred oysters a year. Such being the nature of the country, it is for you to see how we can fight with all these tribes and how we are to get a living." "How many are there of them in all?" said I. "More than a thousand," said he. "What sort of weapons have they?" "Nothing but fishbones,"

¹ According to Herodotus (2, 46), *μένδης* was Egyptian for goat; but there is nothing goatish in the Tritonomenides as Lucian describes them,

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ιχθύων. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἄριστα ἂν ἔχοι διὰ μάχης ἔλθειν αὐτοῖς, ἅτε οὖσιν ἀνόπλοις αὐτοὺς ὀπλισμένους· εἰ γὰρ κρατήσομεν αὐτῶν, ἀδεῶς τὸν λοιπὸν βίον οἰκήσομεν.

Ἔδοξε ταῦτα, καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἐπὶ ναῦν παρεσκευαζόμεθα. αἰτία δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι τοῦ φόρου ἢ οὐκ ἀπόδοσις, ἥδη τῆς προθεσμίας ἐνεστώσης. καὶ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἔπεμπον ἀπαιτοῦντες τὸν δασμόν· ὁ δὲ ὑπεροπτικῶς ἀποκρινάμενος ἀπεδίωξε τοὺς ἀγγέλους. πρῶτοι οὖν οἱ Ψητόποδες καὶ οἱ Παγουρίδαι χαλεπαίνοντες τῷ Σκινθάρῳ—τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο—μετὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου ἐπήεσαν. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον 37 ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξοπλισάμενοι ἀνεμένομεν, λόχον τινὰ προτάξαντες ἀνδρῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. προεῖρητο δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσι παρεληλυθότας τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπανίστασθαι· καὶ οὕτως ἐποίησαν. ἐπαναστάντες γὰρ κατόπιν ἔκοπτον αὐτούς, καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες — καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σκίνθαρος καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ συνεστρατεύοντο — ὑπηγτιάζομεν, καὶ συμμύξαντες θυμῷ καὶ ῥώμῃ διεκινδυνεύομεν. τέλος δὲ τροπὴν αὐτῶν ποιησάμενοι κατεδιώξαμεν ἄχρι πρὸς τοὺς φωλεοὺς. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, ἡμῶν δὲ εἰς, ὁ κυβερνήτης, τρίγλης πλευρᾷ διαπαρεῖς τὸ μετάφρενον. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ 38 τὴν νύκτα ἐπηυλίσάμεθα τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τρόπαιον ἐστήσαμεν ῥάχιν ξηρὰν δελφίνος ἀναπήξαντες. τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αἰσθόμενοι παρήσαν, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχοντες οἱ Ταριχᾶνες — ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Πήλαμος — τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον οἱ Θυννοκέ-

A TRUE STORY, I

he said. "Then our best plan," said I, "would be to meet them in battle, as they are unarmed and we have arms. If we defeat them, we shall live here in peace the rest of our days."

This was resolved on, and we went to the boat and made ready. The cause of war was to be the withholding of the tribute, since the date for it had already arrived. They sent and demanded the tax, and he gave the messengers a contemptuous answer and drove them off. First the Solefeet and Clan Crawfish, incensed at Scintharus—for that was his name—came on with a great uproar. Anticipating their attack, we were waiting under arms, having previously posted in our front a squad of twenty-five men in ambush, who had been directed to fall on the enemy when they saw that they had gone by, and this they did. Falling on them in the rear, they cut them down, while we ourselves, twenty-five in number (for Scintharus and his son were in our ranks), met them face to face and, engaging them, ran our hazard with strength and spirit. Finally we routed them and pursued them clear to their dens. The slain on the side of the enemy were one hundred and seventy; on our side, one—the sailing-master, who was run through the midriff with a mullet-rib. That day and night we bivouacked on the field and made a trophy by setting up the dry spine of a dolphin. On the following day the others, who had heard of it, appeared, with the Broilers, led by Tom Cod, on the right wing, the Codheads on the left, and the

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φαλοι, τὸ μέσον δὲ οἱ Καρκινόχειρες· οἱ γὰρ Τριτωνομένδητες τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγον οὐδετέροις συμμαχεῖν προαιρούμενοι. ἡμεῖς δὲ προαπαντήσαντες αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὸ Ποσειδώνιον συνεμίξαμεν πολλῇ βοῇ χρώμενοι, ἀντήχει δὲ τὸ κύτος¹ ὥσπερ τὰ σπήλαια. τρεψάμενοι δὲ αὐτούς, ἅτε γυμνήτας ὄντας, καὶ καταδιώξαντες ἐς τὴν ὕλην τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπεκρατούμεν τῆς γῆς. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ 39 κήρυκας ἀποστείλαντες νεκρούς τε ἀνηρουντο καὶ περὶ φιλίας διελέγοντο· ἡμῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκει σπένδεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραία χωρήσαντες ἐπ' αὐτούς πάντας ἄρδην ἐξεκόψαμεν πλὴν τῶν Τριτωνομενδήτων. οὗτοι δὲ ὡς εἶδον τὰ γινόμενα, διαδράντες ἐκ τῶν βραγχίων ἀφήκαν αὐτούς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν χώραν ἐπελθόντες ἔρημον ἤδη οὖσαν τῶν πόλεμίων τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδεῶς κατὰκούμεν, τὰ πολλὰ γυμνασίοις τε καὶ κυνηγεσίοις χρώμενοι καὶ ἀμπελουργοῦντες καὶ τὸν καρπὸν συγκομιζόμενοι τὸν ἐκ τῶν δένδρων, καὶ ὅλως ἐώκειμεν τοῖς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀφύκτῳ τρυφῶσι καὶ λελυμένοις.

Ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ τοῦτον διήγομεν τὸν τρόπον. τῷ δ' ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ πέμπτῃ 40 ἵσταμένου, περὶ τὴν δευτέραν τοῦ στόματος ἀνοιξιν — ἅπαξ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ἐκάστην ἐποίει τὸ κῆτος, ὥστε ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰς ἀνοίξεις τεκμαίρεσθαι τὰς ὥρας — περὶ οὖν τὴν δευτέραν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀνοιξιν, ἄφνω βοή τε πολλή καὶ θόρυβος ἠκούετο καὶ ὥσπερ κελεύσματα καὶ εἰρεσίαι· ταραχθέντες οὖν ἀνειρπύσαμεν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ στόμα τοῦ θηρίου καὶ στάντες ἐνδοτέρῳ τῶν

¹ κύτος Wesseling : κῆτος MSS.

A TRUE STORY, I

Crabclaws in the centre. The Mergoats did not take the field, choosing not to ally themselves with either party. Going out to meet them, we engaged them by the temple of Poseidon with great shouting, and the hollow re-echoed like a cave. Routing them, as they were light-armed, and pursuing them into the forest, we were thenceforth masters of the land. Not long afterwards they sent heralds and were for recovering their dead and conferring about an alliance, but we did not think it best to make terms with them. Indeed, on the following day we marched against them and utterly exterminated them, all but the Mergoats, and they, when they saw what was doing, ran off through the gills and threw themselves into the sea. Occupying the country, which was now clear of the enemy, we dwelt there in peace from that time on, constantly engaging in sports, hunting, tending vines and gathering the fruit of the trees. In short, we resembled men leading a life of luxury and roaming at large in a great prison that they cannot break out of.

For a year and eight months we lived in this way, but on the fifth day of the ninth month, about the second mouth-opening—for the whale did it once an hour, so that we told time by the openings—about the second opening, as I said, much shouting and commotion suddenly made itself heard, and what seemed to be commands and oar-beats.¹ Excitedly we crept up to the very mouth of the animal, and standing

¹ Compare the description of the sea-fight between Corinth and Coreyra in Thucydides 1. 48.

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ὀδόντων καθεωρῶμεν ἀπάντων ὧν ἐγὼ εἶδον
 θεαμάτων παραδοξότατον, ἄνδρας μεγάλους, ὅσον
 ἡμισταδιαίους τὰς ἡλικίας, ἐπὶ νήσων μεγάλων
 προσπλέοντας ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τριήρων. οἶδα μὲν οὖν
 ἀπίστοις ἐοικότα ἱστορήσων, λέξω δὲ ὁμως. νῆσοι
 ἦσαν ἐπιμήκεις μὲν, οὐ πᾶν δὲ ὑψηλαί, ὅσον
 ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἑκάστη τὸ περίμετρον· ἐπὶ δὲ
 αὐτῶν ἔπλεον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἀμφὶ τοὺς
 εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν παρ' ἑκάτερα
 τῆς νήσου καθήμενοι ἐφεξῆς ἐκωπηλάτουں κυπα-
 ρίττοις μεγάλαις αὐτοκλάδοις καὶ αὐτοκόμοις
 ὥσπερ ἐρετμοῖς, κατόπιν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πρύμνης, ὡς
 ἐδόκει, κυβερνήτης ἐπὶ λόφου ὑψηλοῦ εἰστήκει
 χάλκεον ἔχων πηδάλιον πεντασταδιαῖον τὸ μῆκος·
 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πρῶρας ὅσον τετταράκοντα ὠπλισμένοι
 αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, πάντα ἐοικότες ἀνθρώποις πλὴν
 τῆς κόμης· αὕτη δὲ πῦρ ἦν καὶ ἐκάετο, ὥστε οὐδὲ
 κορύθων ἐδέοντο. ἀντὶ δὲ ἰστίων ὁ ἄνεμος ἐμπί-
 πτων τῇ ὕλῃ, πολλῇ οὐσῃ ἐν ἑκάστη, ἐκόλπου τε
 ταύτην καὶ ἔφερε τὴν νήσον ἢ ἐθέλοι ὁ κυβερνή-
 της· κελευστής δὲ ἐφειστήκει αὐτοῖς, καὶ πρὸς
 τὴν εἰρεσίαν ὀξέως ἐκινούντο ὥσπερ τὰ μακρὰ
 τῶν πλοίων.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἐωρῶμεν, 41
 ὕστερον δὲ ἐφάνησαν ὅσον ἑξακόσιοι, καὶ
 διαστάντες ἐπολέμουν καὶ ἐναυμάχουν. πολλὰ
 μὲν οὖν ἀντίπρῳροι συνηράσσοντο ἀλλήλαις,

A TRUE STORY, I

inside the teeth we saw the most unparalleled of all the sights that ever I saw—huge men, fully half a furlong in stature, sailing on huge islands as on galleys. Though I know that what I am going to recount savours of the incredible, I shall say it nevertheless. There were islands, long but not very high, and fully a hundred furlongs in circumference, on each of which about a hundred and twenty of those men were cruising, some of whom, sitting along each side of the island one behind the other, were rowing with huge cypress trees for oars—branches, leaves and all!¹ Aft at the stern, as I suppose you would call it, stood the master on a high hill, holding a bronze tiller five furlongs in length. At the bow, about forty of them under arms were fighting; they were like men in all but their hair, which was fire and blazed up, so that they had no need of plumes.² In lieu of sails, the wind struck the forest, which was dense on each of the islands, filled this and carried the island wherever the helmsman would. There were boatswains in command, to keep the oarsmen in time, and the islands moved swiftly under the rowing, like war-galleys.

At first we only saw two or three, but later on about six hundred made their appearance. Taking sides, they went to war and had a sea-fight. Many collided with one another bows on, and many

¹ Herodotus (2, 156) speaks of a floating island in Egypt.

² Cf. *Il.* 5, 4: "And tireless flames did burn on crest and shield."

πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἐμβληθεῖσαι κατεδύνοντο, αἱ δὲ
 συμπλεκόμεναι καρτερῶς διηγωνίζοντο καὶ οὐ
 ῥαδίως ἀπελύοντο· οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πρῶρας τεταγ-
 μένοι πᾶσαν ἐπεδείκνυντο προθυμίαν ἐπιβαίνοντες
 καὶ ἀναιροῦντες· ἐζώγρει δὲ οὐδεὶς. ἀντὶ δὲ χειρῶν
 σιδηρῶν πολὺποδας μεγάλους ἐκδεδεμένους ἀλλή-
 λους ἐπερρίπτουν, οἱ δὲ περιπλεκόμενοι τῇ ὕλῃ
 κατεῖχον τὴν νῆσον. ἔβαλλον μέντοι καὶ ἐτίτρω-
 σκον ὀστρέοις τε ἀμαξοπληθέσι καὶ σπόγγοις
 πλεθριαίοις. ἡγείτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Αἰολοκέν- 42
 ταυρος, τῶν δὲ Θαλασσοπότης· καὶ μάχῃ αὐτοῖς
 ἐγεγένητο, ὡς ἐδόκει, λείας ἔνεκα· ἐλέγετο γὰρ
 ὁ Θαλασσοπότης πολλὰς ἀγέλας δελφίνων τοῦ
 Αἰολοκενταύρου ἐληλακέναι, ὡς ἦν ἀκούειν ἐπικα-
 λούντων ἀλλήλοις καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν βασιλέων
 ἐπιβοωμένων. τέλος δὲ νικῶσιν οἱ τοῦ Αἰολοκεν-
 ταύρου καὶ νήσους τῶν πολεμίων καταδύουσιν
 ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν· καὶ ἄλλας τρεῖς
 λαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ
 πρύμναν κρουσάμεναι ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ μέχρι τινὸς
 διώξαντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐσπέρα ἦν, τραπόμενοι πρὸς τὰ
 ναυάγια τῶν πλείστων ἐπεκράτησαν καὶ τὰ ἑαυ-
 τῶν ἀνείλυντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων κατέδυσαν νῆσοι
 οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα. ἔστησαν δὲ καὶ
 τρόπαιον τῆς νησομαχίας ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ
 κήτους μίαν τῶν πολεμίων νήσων ἀνασταυρώ-
 σαντες. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα περὶ τὸ θηρίον
 ἠϋλίσαντο ἐξάψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀπόγεια καὶ ἐπ'
 ἀγκυρῶν πλησίον ὀρμισάμενοι· καὶ γὰρ ἀγκύραις
 ἐχρῶντο μεγάλαις ὑαλίναις καρτεραῖς. τῇ ὕστε-

A TRUE STORY, I

were rammed amidships and sunk. Some, grappling one another, put up a stout fight and were slow to cast off, for those stationed at the bows showed all zeal in boarding and slaying: no quarter was given. Instead of iron grapnels they threw aboard one another great devilfish with lines belayed to them, and these gripped the woods and held the island fast. They struck and wounded one another with oysters that would fill a wagon and with hundred-foot sponges. The leader of one side was Aeolocentaur, of the other, Brinedrinker. Their battle evidently came about on account of an act of piracy: Brinedrinker was said to have driven off many herds of dolphins belonging to Aeolocentaur. We knew this because we could hear them abusing one another and calling out the names of their kings. Finally the side of Aeolocentaur won; they sank about a hundred and fifty of the enemy's islands; and took three more, crews and all; the rest backed water and fled. After pursuing them some distance, they turned back to the wrecks at evening, making prizes of most of them and picking up what belonged to themselves; for on their own side not less than eighty islands had gone down. They also made a trophy of the isle-fight by setting up one of the enemy's islands on the head of the whale. That night they slept on shipboard around the animal, making their shore lines fast to him and riding at anchor just off him; for they had anchors, large and strong, made of glass.¹ On the following day they performed

¹ Very likely a punning reference to some traveller's account of wooden (ξύλιναις) anchors.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ραῖα δὲ θύσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ κήτους καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους
θάψαντες ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπέπλεον ἡδόμενοι καὶ ὥσπερ
παιᾶνας ἄδοντες. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν νησο-
μαχίαν γενόμενα.

18 16

ΑΛΗΘΩΝ ΔΙΗΓΗΜΑΤΩΝ Β

Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μηκέτι φέρων ἐγὼ τὴν ἐν 1
τῷ κήτει δίαιταν ἀχθόμενός τε τῇ μονῇ μηχανὴν
τινα ἐζήτουν, δι' ἧς ἂν ἐξελθεῖν γένοιτο· καὶ τὸ
μὲν πρῶτον ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν διορύξασι κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν
τοίχον ἀποδρᾶναι, καὶ ἀρξάμενοι διεκόπτομεν·
ἐπειδὴ δὲ προελθόντες ὅσον πέντε σταδίους οὐδὲν
ἠνύομεν, τοῦ μὲν ὀρύγματος ἐπανσάμεθα, τὴν δὲ
ὑλὴν καῦσαι διέγνωμεν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τὸ κήτος
ἀποθανεῖν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ῥαδίᾳ ἔμελλεν
ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι ἡ ἔξοδος. ἀρξάμενοι οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν
οὐραίων ἐκαίομεν, καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας
νύκτας ἀναισθήτως εἶχε τοῦ καύματος, ὀγδόῃ δὲ
καὶ ἐνάτῃ συνίεμεν αὐτοῦ νοσοῦντος· ἀργότερον
γούν ἀνέχασκεν, καὶ εἴ ποτε ἀναχάνοι, ταχὺ
συνέμυνεν. δεκάτῃ δὲ καὶ ἐνδεκάτῃ τέλεον ἀπενε-
κροῦτο¹ καὶ δυσῶδες ἦν· τῇ δωδεκάτῃ δὲ μόλις
ἐνενοήσαμεν ὥς, εἰ μὴ τις χανόντος αὐτοῦ ὑπο-
στηρίξειεν τοὺς γομφίους, ὥστε μηκέτι συγκλείσαι,
κινδυνεύσομεν κατακλεισθέντες ἐν νεκρῷ αὐτῷ
ἀπολέσθαι. οὕτω δὴ μεγάλοις δοκοῖς τὸ στόμα
διερείσαντες τὴν ναῦν ἐπεσκευάζομεν ὕδωρ τε ὥς

¹ ἀπενεκροῦτο Z, P, N, F; ἀπενενέκρωτο ΓΩΣ.

A TRUE STORY, I-II

sacrifice on the whale, buried their friends on him, and sailed off rejoicing and apparently singing hymns of victory. So much for the events of the isle-fight.

BOOK II

FROM that time on, as I could no longer endure the life in the whale and was discontented with the loneliness, I sought a way of escape. First we determined to dig through the right side and make off, and we made a beginning and fell to cutting in. But when we had advanced some five furlongs without getting anywhere, we left off digging and decided to set the forest afire, thinking that in this way the whale could be killed, and in that case our escape would be easy. So we began at the tail end and set it afire. For seven days and seven nights he was unaffected by the burning, but on the eighth and ninth we gathered that he was in a bad way. For instance, he yawned less frequently, and whenever he did yawn he closed his mouth quickly. On the tenth and eleventh day mortification at last set in and he was noisome. On the twelfth we perceived just in time that if someone did not shore his jaws open when he yawned, so that he could not close them again, we stood a chance of being shut up in the dead whale and dying there ourselves. At the last moment, then, we propped the mouth open with great beams and made our boat ready, putting aboard

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐνι πλείστον ἐμβαλλόμενοι καὶ τὰλλα ἐπιτήδεια·
κυβερνήσειν δὲ ἔμελλεν ὁ Σκίνθαρος.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ τὸ μὲν ἤδη ἐτεθνήκει. ἡμεῖς 2
δὲ ἀνελκύσαντες τὸ πλοῖον καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀραιωμά-
των διαγαγόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀδόντων ἐξάψαντες
ἡρέμα καθήκαμεν ἐς τὴν θάλατταν· ἐπαναβάντες
δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα καὶ θύσαντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι αὐτοῦ
παρὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἡμέρας τε τρεῖς ἐπαυλισάμενοι
—νηνεμία γὰρ ἦν—τῇ τετάρτῃ ἀπεπλεύσαμεν.
ἔνθα δὴ πολλοῖς τῶν ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας νεκροῖς
ἀπηντῶμεν καὶ προσωκέλλομεν, καὶ τὰ σώματα
καταμετροῦντες ἐθαυμάζομεν. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν
τινας ἐπλέομεν εὐκράτῳ ἀέρι χρώμενοι, ἔπειτα
βορέου σφοδροῦ πνεύσαντος μέγα κρύος ἐγένετο,
καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἐπάγη τὸ πέλαγος, οὐκ ἐπι-
πολῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς βάθος ὅσον ἐς ἑξ¹ ὀργυίας,
ὥστε καὶ ἀποβάντας διαθεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου.
ἐπιμένοντος δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος φέρειν οὐ δυνάμενοι
τοιόνδε τι ἐπενοήσαμεν—ὁ δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀπο-
φηνάμενος ἦν ὁ Σκίνθαρος—σκάψαντες γὰρ ἐν τῷ
ὔδατι σπήλαιον μέγιστον ἐν τούτῳ ἐμείναμεν
ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, πῦρ ἀνακαίοντες καὶ σιτούμενοι
τοὺς ἰχθύς· εὐρίσκομεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνορύττοντες.
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤδη ἐπέλειπε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, προελθόντες
καὶ τὴν ναῦν πεπηγυῖαν ἀνασπάσαντες καὶ πετά-
σαντες τὴν ὀθόνην ἐσυρόμεθα ὥσπερ πλέοντες
λείως καὶ προσηνῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ πάγου διολισθάνοντες.
ἡμέρα δὲ πέμπτη ἀλέα τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ ὁ πάγος
ἐλύετο καὶ ὕδωρ πάντα αὐθις ἐγένετο.

Πλεύσαντες οὖν ὅσον τριακοσίους σταδίους 3

¹ ἐς ἑξ (i.e. 5) Schwartz: ἐς τετρακοσί(ας) (i.e. 400), ἐπὶ τριακοσί(ας) MSS.

A TRUE STORY, II

all the water we could and the other provisions. Our sailing-master was to be Scintharus.

On the next day the whale was dead at last. We dragged the boat up, took her through the gaps, made her fast to the teeth and lowered her slowly into the sea. Climbing on the back and sacrificing to Poseidon there by the trophy, we camped for three days, as it was calm. On the fourth day we sailed off, and in so doing met and grounded on many of the dead from the sea-fight, and measured their bodies with amazement. For some days we sailed with a moderate breeze, and then a strong norther blew up and brought on great cold. The entire sea was frozen by it, not just on the surface but to a depth of fully six fathoms, so that we could leave the boat and run on the ice. The wind held and we could not stand it, so we devised an odd remedy—the proposer of the idea was Scintharus. We dug a very large cave in the water and stopped in it for thirty days, keeping a fire burning and eating the fish that we found in digging. When our provisions at last failed, we came out, hauled up the boat, which had frozen in, spread our canvas and slid, gliding on the ice smoothly and easily, just as if we were sailing. On the fifth day it was warm again, the ice broke up and everything turned to water once more.

After sailing about three hundred furlongs we

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νήσῳ μικρᾷ καὶ ἐρήμῃ προσηνέχθημεν, ἀφ' ἧς ὕδωρ λαβόντες—ἐπελελοίπει γὰρ ἤδη—καὶ δύο ταύρους ἀγρίους κατατοξεύσαντες ἀπεπλεύσαμεν. οἱ δὲ ταῦροι οὗτοι τὰ κέρατα οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἶχον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὥσπερ ὁ Μῶμος ἡξίου. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ εἰς πέλαγος ἐμβαίνομεν, οὐχ ὕδατος, ἀλλὰ γάλακτος· καὶ νῆσος ἐν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο λευκὴ πλήρης ἀμπέλων. ἦν δὲ ἡ νῆσος τυρὸς μέγιστος συμπεπηγώς, ὡς ὕστερον ἐμφαγόντες ἐμάθομεν, σταδίων εἴκοσι πέντε τὸ περίμετρον· αἱ δὲ ἄμπελοι βοτρυῶν πλήρεις, οὐ μέντοι οἶνον, ἀλλὰ γάλα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποθλίβοντες ἐπίνομεν. ἱερὸν δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ νήσῳ ἀνφοδόμητο Γαλατείας τῆς Νηρηίδος, ὡς ἐδήλου τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. ὅσον δ' οὖν χρόνον ἐκεῖ ἐμείναμεν, ὄψον μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ σιτίον ἢ γῆ ὑπῆρχεν, ποτὸν δὲ τὸ γάλα τὸ ἐκ τῶν βοτρυῶν. βασιλεύειν δὲ τῶν χωρίων τούτων ἐλέγετο Τυρῶ ἢ Σαλμωνέως, μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν ταύτην παρὰ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος λαβοῦσα τὴν τιμὴν.

Μείναντες δὲ ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πέντε, τῇ 4
ἕκτῃ ἐξωρμήσαμεν, αὔρας μὲν τινος παραπεμπού-
σης, λειοκύμονος δὲ οὔσης τῆς θαλάττης· ὀγδόῃ
δὲ ἡμέρᾳ πλέοντες οὐκέτι διὰ τοῦ γάλακτος, ἀλλ'
ἤδη ἐν ἁλμυρῷ καὶ κυανέῳ ὕδατι, καθορῶμεν ἀν-
θρώπους πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πελάγους διαθέοντας,
ἅπαντα ἡμῖν προσεικότας, καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ
τὰ μεγέθη, πλὴν τῶν ποδῶν μόνων· ταῦτα γὰρ
φέλλινα εἶχον, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο

A TRUE STORY, II

ran in at a small desert island, where we got water—which had failed by this time—and shot two wild bulls, and then sailed away. These bulls did not have their horns on their head but under their eyes, as Momus wanted.¹ Not long afterwards we entered a sea of milk, not of water, and in it a white island, full of grapevines, came in sight. The island was a great solid cheese, as we afterwards learned by tasting it. It was twenty-five furlongs in circumference. The vines were full of grapes, but the liquid which we squeezed from them and drank was milk instead of wine. A temple had been constructed in the middle of the island in honour of Galatea the Nereid, as its inscription indicated. All the time that we stopped in the island the earth was our bread and meat and the milk from the grapes our drink. The ruler of that region was said to be Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus, who after departure from home received this guerdon from Poseidon.²

After stopping five days on the island we started out on the sixth, with a bit of breeze propelling us over a rippling sea. On the eighth day, by which time we were no longer sailing through the milk but in briny blue water, we came in sight of many men running over the sea, like us in every way, both in shape and in size, except only their feet, which were of cork: that is why they were called Corkfeet, if I

¹ Momus suggested this in order that the animal might see what he was doing with his horns.

² As *gala* is milk and *tyros* cheese, the goddess and the queen of the island are fitly chosen.

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Φελλόποδες. ἐθαυμάσαμεν οὖν ἰδόντες οὐ βαπτιζομένους, ἀλλὰ ὑπερέχοντας τῶν κυμάτων καὶ ἀδεῶς ὁδοιποροῦντας. οἱ δὲ καὶ προσήεσαν καὶ ἡσπάζοντο ἡμᾶς Ἑλληνικῇ φωνῇ· ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ εἰς Φελλῶ τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα ἐπείγεσθαι. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος συνωδοιπόρουν ἡμῖν παραθέοντες, εἶτα ἀποτραπόμενοι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐβάδιζον εὐπλοῖαν ἡμῖν ἐπευξάμενοι.

Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ πολλαὶ νῆσοι ἐφαίνοντο, πλησίον μὲν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἡ Φελλῶ, ἐς ἣν ἐκείνοι ἔσπευδον, πόλις ἐπὶ μεγάλου καὶ στρογγύλου φελλοῦ κατοικουμένη· πόρρωθεν δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν δεξιᾷ πέντε μέγισται καὶ ὑψηλόταται, καὶ πῦρ πολὺ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνεκαίετο, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρῶραν μία πλατεῖα καὶ ταπεινὴ, σταδίους ἀπέχουσα 5 οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντακοσίων. ἤδη δὲ πλησίον ἤμεν, καὶ θαυμαστή τις αὔρα περιέπνευσεν ἡμᾶς, ἡδεῖα καὶ εὐώδης, οἷαν φησὶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς Ἡρόδοτος ἀπόζειν τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας. οἷον γὰρ ἀπὸ ῥόδων καὶ ναρκίσσων καὶ ὑακίνθων καὶ κρίνων καὶ ἴων, ἔτι δὲ μυρρίνης καὶ δάφνης καὶ ἀμπελάνθης, τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν τὸ ἡδὺ προσέβαλλεν. ἡσθέντες δὲ τῇ ὁσμῇ καὶ χρηστὰ ἐκ μακρῶν πόνων ἐλπίσαντες κατ' ὀλίγον ἤδη πλησίον τῆς νήσου ἐγινόμεθα. ἔνθα δὲ καὶ καθ-
εωρῶμεν λιμένας τε πολλοὺς περὶ πᾶσαν ἀκλύ-
στους καὶ μεγάλους, ποταμούς τε διαυγεῖς ἐξιέντας ἡρέμα εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἔτι δὲ λειμῶνας καὶ ὕλας καὶ ὄρνεα μουσικά, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ῥόνων ἄδοντα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων· ἀήρ τε κούφος καὶ εὐπνους περιεκέχυτο τὴν χώραν· καὶ

A TRUE STORY, II

am not mistaken. We were amazed to see that they did not go under, but stayed on the top of the waves and went about fearlessly. Some of them came up and greeted us in the Greek language; they said that they were on their way to Cork, their native city. For some distance they travelled with us, running alongside, and then they turned off and went their way, wishing us luck on our voyage.

In a little while many islands came in sight. Near us, to port, was Cork, where the men were going, a city built on a great round cork. At a distance and more to starboard were five islands, very large and high, from which much fire was blazing up. Dead ahead was one that was flat and low-lying, not less than five hundred furlongs off. When at length we were near it, a wonderful breeze blew about us, sweet and fragrant, like the one that, on the word of the historian Herodotus,¹ breathes perfume from Araby the blest. The sweetness that met us was as if it came from roses and narcissi and hyacinths and lilies and violets, from myrrh and laurel and vines in bloom. Delighted with the fragrance and cherishing high hopes after our long toils, we gradually drew near to the island at last. Then we saw many harbours all about it, large and unfretted by beating waves; transparent rivers emptying softly into the sea; meads, too, and woods and songbirds, some of them singing on the shore and many in the branches. A rare, pure atmosphere enfolded the place, and sweet breezes with their

¹ 3, 113.

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αὖραι δέ τινες ἡδεῖαι πνέουσαι ἡρέμα τὴν ὕλην
 διεσάλευον, ὥστε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κλάδων κινουμένων
 τερπνὰ καὶ συνεχῇ μέλη ἀπεσυρίζετο, εἰκότα
 τοῖς ἐπ' ἐρημίας αὐλήμασι τῶν πλαγίων αὐλῶν.
 καὶ μὴν καὶ βοή σύμμικτος ἠκούετο ἄθρους, οὐ
 θορυβώδης, ἀλλ' οἷα γένοιτ' ἂν ἐν συμποσίῳ,
 τῶν μὲν αὐλούντων, τῶν δὲ ἐπαδόντων,¹ ἐνίων
 δὲ κροτούντων πρὸς αὐλὸν ἢ κιθάραν. τούτοις 6
 ἅπασι κηλούμενοι κατήχθημεν, ὀρμίσαντες δὲ τὴν
 ναῦν ἀπεβαίνομεν, τὸν Σκίνθαρον ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ δύο
 τῶν ἐταίρων ἀπολιπόντες. προΐόντες δὲ διὰ λει-
 μῶνος εὐανθοῦς ἐντυγχάνομεν τοῖς φρουροῖς καὶ
 περιπόλοις, οἱ δὲ δήσαντες ἡμᾶς ῥοδίνοις στε-
 φάνοις—οὗτος γὰρ μέγιστος παρ' αὐτοῖς δεσμός
 ἐστίν—ἀνῆγον ὡς τὸν ἄρχοντα, παρ' ὧν δὴ καθ'
 ὁδὸν ἠκούσαμεν ὡς ἡ μὲν νῆσος εἶη τῶν Μακάρων
 προσαγορευομένη, ἄρχοι δὲ ὁ Κρῆς Ῥαδάμανθυσ.
 καὶ δὴ ἀναχθέντες ὡς αὐτὸν ἐν τάξει τῶν δικα-
 ζομένων ἕστημεν τέταρτοι. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν πρώτη 7
 δίκη περὶ Αἴαντος τοῦ Τελαμῶνος, εἴτε χρὴ
 αὐτὸν συνεῖναι τοῖς ἥρωσιν εἴτε καὶ μή· κατη-
 γορεῖτο δὲ αὐτοῦ ὅτι μεμήνοι καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀπε-
 κτόνοι. τέλος δὲ πολλῶν ῥηθέντων ἔγνω ὁ
 Ῥαδάμανθυσ, νῦν μὲν αὐτὸν πιόμενον τοῦ ἑλλε-
 βόρου παραδοθῆναι Ἰπποκράτει τῷ Κῷ ἰατρῷ,
 ὕστερον δὲ σωφρονήσαντα μετέχειν τοῦ συμπο-
 σίου. δευτέρα δὲ ἦν κρίσις ἐρωτική, Θησέως καὶ 8
 Μενελάου περὶ τῆς Ἑλένης διαγωνιζομένων,
 ποτέρῳ χρὴ αὐτὴν συνοικεῖν. καὶ ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυσ
 ἐδίκασε Μενελάῳ συνεῖναι αὐτὴν ἅτε καὶ τοσαῦτα
 πονήσαντι καὶ κινδυνεύσαντι τοῦ γάμου ἕνεκα·

¹ ἐπαδόντων Rohde: ἐπαινούντων MSS.

A TRUE STORY, II

blowing stirred the woods gently, so that from the moving branches came a whisper of delightful, unbroken music, like the fluting of Pandean pipes in desert places. Moreover, a confused sound could be heard incessantly, which was not noisy but resembled that made at a drinking-party, when some are playing, others singing and others beating time to the flute or the lyre. Enchanted with all this, we put in, anchored our boat and landed, leaving Scintharus and two of my comrades on board. Advancing through a flowery mead, we came upon the guards and sentinels, who bound us with rosy wreaths—the strongest fetter that they have—and led us inland to their ruler. They told us on the way that the island was the one that is called the Isle of the Blest, and that the ruler was the Cretan Rhadamanthus. On being brought before him, we were given fourth place among the people awaiting trial. The first case was that of Ajax, son of Telamon, to decide whether he should be allowed to associate with the heroes or not: he was accused of having gone mad and killed himself. At last, when much had been said, Rhadamanthus gave judgment that for the present, after taking a dose of hellebore,¹ he should be given in charge of Hippocrates, the Coan physician, and that later on, when he had recovered his wits, he should have a place at the table of the heroes. The second case was a love-affair—Theseus and Menelaus at law over Helen, to determine which of the two she should live with. Rhadamanthus pronounced that she should live with Menelaus, because he had undergone so much toil and danger on account of his marriage: then too,

¹ A remedy for madness; Hor. *Sat.* 2. 3. 82.

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καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ Θησεὶ καὶ ἄλλας εἶναι γυναῖκας,
 τήν τε Ἀμαζόνα καὶ τὰς τοῦ Μίνωος θυγατέρας.
 τρίτη δ' ἐδικάσθη περὶ προεδρίας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ 9
 τε τῷ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀννίβα τῷ Καρχηδονίῳ,
 καὶ ἔδοξε προέχειν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ θρόνος
 αὐτῷ ἐτέθη παρὰ Κύρον τὸν Πέρσῃν τὸν πρότε-
 ρον. τέταρτοι δὲ ἡμεῖς προσήχθημεν· καὶ ὁ μὲν 10
 ἤρετο τί παθόντες ἔτι ζῶντες ἱεροῦ χωρίου ἐπι-
 βαίημεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντα ἐξῆς διηγησάμεθα. οὕτω
 δὴ μεταστησάμενος ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐσκέ-
 πτετο καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις ἐκοινοῦτο περὶ ἡμῶν.
 συνήδρενον δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ
 δίκαιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. ὥς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, ἀπεφῆ-
 ναντο, τῆς μὲν φιλοπραγμοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἀποδη-
 μίας, ἐπειδὴν ἀποθάνωμεν, δοῦναι τὰς εὐθύνας, τὸ
 δὲ νῦν ῥητὸν χρόνον μέιναντας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ
 συνδιαιτηθέντας τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἔταξαν
 δὲ καὶ τὴν προθεσμίαν τῆς ἐπιδημίας μὴ πλεόν
 μηνῶν ἐπτά.

Τοῦντεῦθεν αὐτομάτων ἡμῖν τῶν στεφάνων 11
 περιρρυέντων ἐλελύμεθα καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 ἡγόμεθα καὶ εἰς τὸ τῶν Μακάρων συμπόσιον.
 αὕτῃ μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις πᾶσα χρυσή, τὸ δὲ τεῖχος
 περίκειται σμαράγδινον· πύλαι δὲ εἰσιν ἐπτά,
 πᾶσαι μονόξυλοι κινναμώμιναι· τὸ μέντοι ἔδαφος
 τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους γῆ
 ἐλεφαντίνη· ναοὶ δὲ πάντων θεῶν βηρύλλου λίθου
 ὠκοδομημένοι, καὶ βωμοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς μέγιστοι
 μονόλιθοι ἀμεθύστινοι, ἐφ' ὧν ποιοῦσι τὰς

A TRUE STORY, II

Theseus had other wives, the Amazon¹ and the daughters of Minos.² The third judgment was given in a matter of precedence between Alexander, son of Philip, and Hannibal of Carthage, and the decision was that Alexander outranked Hannibal, so his chair was placed next the elder Cyrus of Persia.³ We were brought up fourth; and he asked us how it was that we trod on holy ground while still alive, and we told him the whole story. Then he had us removed, pondered for a long time, and consulted with his associates about us. Among many other associates he had Aristides the Just, of Athens. When he had come to a conclusion, sentence was given that for being inquisitive and not staying at home we should be tried after death, but that for the present we might stop a definite time in the island and share the life of the heroes, and then we must be off. They set the length of our stay at not more than seven months.

Thereupon our garlands fell away of themselves, and we were set free and taken into the city and to the table of the blessed. The city itself is all of gold and the wall around it of emerald.⁴ It has seven gates, all of single planks of cinnamon. The foundations of the city and the ground within its walls are ivory. There are temples of all the gods, built of beryl, and in them great monolithic altars of amethyst, on which they make their great

¹ Hippolyta.

² Ariadne and Phaedra.

³ Cf. *Dialogues of the Dead*, 25.

⁴ Lucian's city is not necessarily a parody on the New Jerusalem, though the scholiast so understood it.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἑκατόμβας. περὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥεῖ ποταμὸς μύρου
 τοῦ καλλίστου, τὸ πλάτος πήχεων ἑκατὸν
 βασιλικῶν, βάθος δὲ πέντε,¹ ὥστε νεῖν εὐμαρῶς.
 λουτρὰ δὲ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς οἶκοι μεγάλοι ὑάλινοι, τῷ
 κινναμώμφῳ ἐγκαίόμενοι· ἀντὶ μέντοι τοῦ ὕδατος 12
 ἐν ταῖς πνέλοις δρόσος θερμὴ ἔστιν. ἐσθῆτι δὲ
 χρῶνται ἀραχνίοις λεπτοῖς, πορφυροῖς. αὐτοὶ
 δὲ σώματα μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναφεῖς καὶ
 ἄσαρκοί εἰσιν, μορφήν δὲ καὶ ἰδέαν μόνην ἐμφαίνου-
 σιν, καὶ ἀσώματοι ὄντες ὁμῶς συνεστᾶσιν καὶ
 κινουῦνται καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ φωνὴν ἀφιασιν, καὶ
 ὅλως ἔοικε γυμνὴ τις ἢ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν περιπολεῖν
 τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὁμοιότητα περικειμένη· εἰ γοῦν
 μὴ ἄψαιτό τις, οὐκ ἂν ἐξελέγξειε μὴ εἶναι σῶμα
 τὸ ὀρώμενον· εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ σκιαὶ ὀρθαί, οὐ
 μέλαιναι. γηράσκει δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἧς ἂν
 ἡλικίας ἔλθῃ παραμένει. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ νύξ παρ'
 αὐτοῖς γίνεται, οὐδὲ ἡμέρα πάνυ λαμπρά· καθά-
 περ δὲ τὸ λυκαυγὲς ἤδη πρὸς ἕω, μηδέπω ἀνατεί-
 λαντος ἡλίου, τοιοῦτο φῶς ἐπέχει τὴν γῆν. καὶ
 μέντοι καὶ ὥραν μίαν ἴσασιν τοῦ ἔτους· αἰεὶ γὰρ
 παρ' αὐτοῖς ἕαρ ἔστι καὶ εἰς ἄνεμος πνεῖ παρ'
 αὐτοῖς ὁ ζέφυρος. ἡ δὲ χώρα πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθεσιν, 13
 πᾶσι δὲ φυτοῖς ἡμέροις τε καὶ σκιεροῖς τέθηλεν·
 αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄμπελοι δωδεκάφοροί εἰσιν καὶ κατὰ
 μῆνα ἕκαστον καρποφοροῦσιν· τὰς δὲ ῥοιάς καὶ
 τὰς μηλέας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὀπώραν ἔλεγον εἶναι
 τρισκαιδεκάφορον· ἐνὸς γὰρ μηνὸς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς
 Μινώου δις καρποφορεῖν· ἀντὶ δὲ πυροῦ οἱ στάχυες

¹ πέντε (i.e. ε) Schwartz: not in MSS.

A TRUE STORY, II

burnt-offerings. Around the city runs a river of the finest myrrh, a hundred royal cubits wide and five deep, so that one can swim in it comfortably. For baths they have large houses of glass, warmed by burning cinnamon; instead of water there is hot dew in the tubs. For clothing they use delicate purple spider-webs. As for themselves, they have no bodies, but are intangible and fleshless, with only shape and figure. Incorporeal as they are, they nevertheless live and move and think and talk. In a word, it would appear that their naked souls go about in the semblance of their bodies. Really, if one did not touch them, he could not tell that what he saw was not a body, for they are like upright shadows, only not black. Nobody grows old, but stays the same age as on coming there. Again, it is neither night among them nor yet very bright day, but the light which is on the country is like the gray morning toward dawn, when the sun has not yet risen. Moreover, they are acquainted with only one season of the year, for it is always spring there and the only wind that blows there is Zephyr. The country abounds in flowers and plants of all kinds, cultivated and otherwise.¹ The grape-vines yield twelve vintages a year, bearing every month; the pomegranates, apples and other fruit-trees were said to bear thirteen times a year, for in one month, their Minoan, they bear twice. Instead of wheat-ears, loaves of bread all baked grow on the tops of the

¹ Lucian makes a villainous pun here, contrasting *hemeros* (cultivated) with *skieros* (fond of darkness), as if the former word meant 'fond of daylight,' (*hemera*)!

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἄρτον ἔτοιμον ἐπ' ἄκρων φύουσιν ὥσπερ μύκητας. πηγαὶ δὲ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὕδατος μὲν πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσiai, μέλιτος δὲ ἄλλα τοσαῦται, μύρου δὲ πεντακόσiai, μικρότεραι μέντοι αὐται, καὶ ποταμοὶ γάλακτος ἑπτὰ καὶ οἶνου ὀκτώ.

Τὸ δὲ συμπόσιον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πεποιήν- 14
ται ἐν τῷ Ἡλυσίῳ καλουμένῳ πεδίῳ· λειμῶν δὲ
ἐστὶν κάλλιστος καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὕλη παντοία
πυκνή, ἐπισκιάζουσα τοὺς κατακειμένους. καὶ
στρωμνὴν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀνθῶν ὑποβέβληνται,
διακονοῦνται δὲ καὶ παραφέρουσιν ἕκαστα οἱ
ἄνεμοι πλὴν γε τοῦ οἴνοχοεῖν· τούτου γὰρ οὐδὲν
δέονται, ἀλλ' ἔστι δένδρα περὶ τὸ συμπόσιον
ὑάλινα μεγάλα τῆς διαυγεστάτης ὑάλου, καὶ
καρπὸς ἐστὶ τῶν δένδρων τούτων ποτήρια παντοῖα
καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς καὶ τὰ μεγέθη. ἐπειδὴν οὖν
παρίη τις ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον, τρυγῆσας ἐν ἧ καὶ δύο
τῶν ἐκπωμάτων παρατίθεται, τὰ δὲ αὐτῖκα οἶνου
πλήρη γίνεται. οὕτω μὲν πίνουσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν
στεφάνων αἱ ἀηδόνες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ μουσικὰ
ὄρνεα ἐκ τῶν πλησίου λειμῶνων τοῖς στόμασιν
ἀνθολογοῦντα καταναίφει αὐτοὺς μετ' ὥδης ὑπερ-
πετόμενα. καὶ μὴν καὶ μυρίζονται ὧδε· νεφέλαι
πυκναὶ ἀνασπάσασαι μύρον ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν καὶ
τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐπιστᾶσαι ὑπὲρ τὸ συμπόσιον
ἡρέμα τῶν ἀνέμων ὑποθλιβόντων ὕουσι λεπτὸν
ὥσπερ δρόσον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ μουσικῇ τε καὶ 15
ᾠδαῖς σχολάζουσιν· ἄδεται δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ Ὀμήρου
ἔπη μάλιστα· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ πάρεστι καὶ συννευ-
χεῖται αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά κατακείμενος.
οἱ μὲν οὖν χοροὶ ἐκ παίδων εἰσὶν καὶ παρθένων

A TRUE STORY, II

halms, so that they look like mushrooms. In the neighbourhood of the city there are three hundred and sixty-five springs of water, as many of honey, five hundred of myrrh—much smaller, however—seven rivers of milk and eight of wine.

Their table is spread outside the city in the Elysian Fields, a very beautiful mead with thick woods of all sorts round about it, overshadowing the feasters. The couches they lie on are made of flowers, and they are attended and served by the winds, who, however, do not pour out their wine, for they do not need anyone to do this. There are great trees of the clearest glass around the table, and instead of fruit they bear cups of all shapes and sizes. When anyone comes to table he picks one or two of the cups and puts them at his place. These fill with wine at once, and that is the way they get their drink. Instead of garlands, the nightingales and the other song-birds gather flowers in their bills from the fields hard by and drop them down like snow, flying overhead and singing. Furthermore, the way they are scented is that thick clouds draw up myrrh from the springs and the river, stand over the table and under the gentle manipulation of the winds rain down a delicate dew. At the board they pass their time with poetry and song. For the most part they sing the epics of Homer, who is there himself and shares the revelry, lying at table in the place above Odysseus. Their choruses are of boys and girls, led

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐξάρχουσι δὲ καὶ συνάδουσιν Εὐνομός τε ὁ Λοκρὸς καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Ἀνακρέων καὶ Στησίχορος· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθεασάμην, ἥδη τῆς Ἑλένης αὐτῷ διηλλαγμένης. ἐπειδὰν δὲ οὗτοι παύσωνται ἄδοντες, δεύτερος χορὸς παρέρχεται ἐκ κύκνων καὶ χελιδόνων καὶ ἠδόνων. ἐπειδὰν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἄσωσιν, τότε ἥδη πᾶσα ἡ ὕλη ἐπαυλεῖ τῶν ἀνέμων καταρχόντων. μέγιστον δὲ δὴ πρὸς 16 εὐφροσύνην ἐκείνο ἔχουσιν· πηγαί εἰσι δύο παρὰ τὸ συμπόσιον, ἡ μὲν γέλωτος, ἡ δὲ ἠδονῆς· ἐκ τούτων ἑκατέρας πάντες ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς εὐωχίας πίνουσιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἠδόμενοι καὶ γελῶντες διάγουσιν.

Βούλομαι δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων οὔστινας 17 παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθεασάμην· πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἡμιθέους καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύσαντας πλήν γε δὴ τοῦ Λοκροῦ Αἴαντος, ἐκείνον δὲ μόνον ἔφασκον ἐν τῷ τῶν ἄσεβων χώρῳ κολάζεσθαι, βαρβάρων δὲ Κύρους τε ἀμφοτέρους καὶ τὸν Σκύθην Ἀνάχαρσιν καὶ τὸν Θρᾶκα Ζάμολξιν καὶ Νομᾶν τὸν Ἰταλιώτην, καὶ μὴν καὶ Λυκοῦργον τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον καὶ Φωκίωνα καὶ Τέλλον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἄνευ Περιάνδρου. εἶδον δὲ καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν Σωφρονίσκου ἀδολεσχοῦντα μετὰ Νέστορος καὶ Παλαμῆδους· περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἦσαν Ἱάκινθος τε ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ὁ Θεσπιεὺς Νάρκισσος καὶ Ὑπλάς καὶ ἄλλοι καλοί. καί μοι ἐδόκει ἐρᾶν τοῦ Ἱακίνθου· τὰ πολλὰ γοῦν ἐκείνον διήλεγχεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς καὶ

A TRUE STORY, II

and accompanied by Eunomus of Locris, Arion of Lesbos, Anacreon and Stesichorus. There can be no doubt about the latter, for I saw him there—by that time Helen had forgiven him.¹ When they stop singing another chorus appears, composed of swans and swallows and nightingales, and as they sing the whole wood renders the accompaniment, with the winds leading. But the greatest thing that they have for ensuring a good time is that two springs are by the table, one of laughter and the other of enjoyment. They all drink from each of these when the revels begin, and thenceforth enjoy themselves and laugh all the while.

But I desire to mention the famous men whom I saw there. There were all the demigods and the veterans of Troy except Locrian Ajax, the only one, they said, who was being punished in the place of the wicked. Of the barbarians there were both Cyruses, the Scythian Anacharsis, the Thracian Zamolxis and Numa the Italian. In addition, there were Lycurgus of Sparta, Phocion and Tellus of Athens and the wise men, all but Periander. I also saw Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, chopping logic with Nestor and Palamedes; about him were Hyacinthus of Sparta, Narcissus of Thespieae, Hylas and other handsome lads. It seemed to me that Hyacinthus was his especial favourite, for at any rate he refuted him most. It was said that Rhadamanthus

¹ Stesichorus had said harsh words of Helen, and was blinded by Castor and Pollux for his presumption. He recanted in a famous Palinode, of which some lines are still preserved (Plato, *Phaedrus*, 243), and so recovered his eyesight.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἡπειληκέναι πολλάκις ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, ἣν φλυαρῇ καὶ μὴ ἐθέλῃ ἀφείδαι τὴν εἰρηνείαν εὐωχεῖσθαι. Πλάτων δὲ μόνος οὐ παρῆν, ἀλλ' ἐλέγετο αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ἀναπλασθείσῃ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλει οἰκεῖν χρώμενος τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις οἷς συνέγραψεν. οἱ μέντοι ἀμφ' 18 Ἀρίστιππόν τε καὶ Ἐπίκουρον τὰ πρῶτα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐφέροντο ἡδεῖς τε ὄντες καὶ κεχαρισμένοι καὶ συμποτικώτατοι. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Αἰσωπος ὁ Φρύξ· τούτῳ δὲ ὅσα καὶ γελωτοποιῶ χρώνται. Διογένης μὲν γε ὁ Σινωπεὺς τοσοῦτον μετέβαλεν τοῦ τρόπου, ὥστε γῆμαι μὲν ἐταίραν τὴν Λαῖδα, ὀρχεῖσθαι δὲ πολλάκις ὑπὸ μέθης ἀνιστάμενον καὶ παροινεῖν. τῶν δὲ Στωϊκῶν οὐδεὶς παρῆν· ἔτι γὰρ ἐλέγοντο ἀναβαίνειν τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄρθιον λόφον. ἡκούομεν δὲ καὶ περὶ Χρυσίππου ὅτι οὐ πρότερον αὐτῷ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς νήσου θέμις, πρὶν τὸ τέταρτον ἑαυτὸν ἐλλεβορίσῃ. τοὺς δὲ Ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς ἔλεγον ἐθέλειν μὲν ἐλθεῖν, ἐπέχειν δὲ ἔτι καὶ διασκέπτεσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτό πω καταλαμβάνειν, εἰ καὶ νῆσός τις τοιαύτη ἐστίν. ἄλλως τε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ραδαμάνθυος, οἶμαι, κρίσιν ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ἅτε καὶ τὸ κριτήριον αὐτοὶ ἀννηρηκότες. πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐφασκόν ὀρμηθέντας ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ὑπὸ νωθείας ἀπολείπεσθαι μὴ καταλαμβάνοντας καὶ ἀναστρέφειν ἐκ μέσης τῆς ὁδοῦ.

Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἦσαν οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν παρόντων. τιμῶσι δὲ μάλιστα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ μετὰ 19 τοῦτον Θησέα. περὶ δὲ συνουσίας καὶ ἀφροδισίων

A TRUE STORY, II

was angry at Socrates and had often threatened to banish him from the island if he kept up his nonsense and would not quit his irony and be merry. Plato alone was not there : it was said that he was living in his imaginary city under the constitution and the laws that he himself wrote. The followers of Aristippus and Epicurus were in the highest favour among the heroes because they are pleasant and agreeable and jolly good fellows. Aesop the Phrygian was also there—they have him for a jester. Diogenes the Cynic had so changed his ways that he not only married *Lais* the courtesan, but often got up and danced and indulged in tomfoolery when he had had too much. None of the Stoics was there—they were said to be still on the way up the steep hill of virtue. With regard to Chrysippus, we heard tell that he is not permitted to set foot on the island until he submits himself to the hellebore treatment for the fourth time.¹ They said that the Academicians wanted to come but were still holding off and debating, for they could not arrive at a conclusion even on the question whether such an island existed. Then too I suppose they feared to have Rhadamanthus judge them, as they themselves had abolished standards of judgment. It was said, however, that many of them had started to follow people coming thither, but fell behind through their slowness, being constitutionally unable to arrive at anything, and so turned back half-way.

These were the most conspicuous of those present. They render especial honours to Achilles and after him to Theseus. About love-making their attitude

¹ See the *Philosophers for Sale* for another jest at Chrysippus' insanity.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

οὕτω φρονούσιν· μίσγονται μὲν ἀναφανδὸν πάντων ὁρώντων καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἄρρεσι, καὶ οὐδαμῶς τοῦτο αὐτοῖς αἰσχρὸν δοκεῖ· μόνος δὲ Σωκράτης διώμνυτο ἢ μὴν καθαρῶς πλησιάζειν τοῖς νέοις· καὶ μέντοι πάντες αὐτοῦ ἐπιорκεῖν κατεγίνωσκον· πολλάκις γοῦν ὁ μὲν Ἵάκινθος ἢ ὁ Νάρκισσος ὠμολόγουν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἡρνεῖτο. αἱ δὲ γυναικῆς εἰσι πᾶσι κοιναὶ καὶ οὐδεὶς φθονεῖ τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα Πλατωνικώτατοι· καὶ οἱ παῖδες δὲ παρέχουσι τοῖς βουλομένοις οὐδὲν ἀντιλεγόντες.

Οὕτω δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέραι διεληλύθεσαν, 20 καὶ προσελθὼν ἐγὼ Ὀμήρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ, σχολῆς οὔσης ἀμφοῖν, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπυνθανόμην καὶ ὅθεν εἴη¹ τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσέτι νῦν ζητεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ οὐδ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγνοεῖν ἔφασκεν ὥς οἱ μὲν Χίον, οἱ δὲ Σμυρναῖον, πολλοὶ δὲ Κολοφώνιον αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν· εἶναι μέντοι γε ἔλεγεν Βαβυλώνιος, καὶ παρά γε τοῖς πολίταις οὐχ' Ὀμηρος, ἀλλὰ Τιγράνης καλεῖσθαι· ὕστερον δὲ ὁμηρευσας παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀλλάξαι τὴν προσηγορίαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀθετουμένων στίχων ἐπηρώτων, εἰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰεν γεγραμμένοι. καὶ ὃς ἔφασκε πάντας αὐτοῦ εἶναι. κατεγίνωσκον οὖν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ζηνόδοτον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον γραμματικῶν πολλὴν τὴν ψυχρολογίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἱκανῶς ἀπεκέκριτο, πάλιν αὐτὸν ἡρώτων τί δὴ ποτε ἀπὸ τῆς μῆνιδος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποίησατο· καὶ ὃς εἶπεν οὕτως ἐπελθεῖν αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἐπιτηδεύσαντι. καὶ μὴν κακεῖνο ἐπεθύμουν εἶδέναι, εἰ προτέραν ἔγραψεν τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν τῆς Ἰλιάδος,

¹ εἴη Schwartz : εἴη λέγων MSS.

A TRUE STORY, II

is such that they bill-and-coo openly, in plain sight of everyone, without any discrimination, and think no shame of it at all. Socrates, the only exception, used to protest that he was above suspicion in his relations with young persons, but everyone held him guilty of perjury. In fact, Hyacinthus and Narcissus often said that they knew better, but he persisted in his denial. They all have their wives in common and nobody is jealous of his neighbour; in this point they out-Plato Plato. Complaisance is the universal rule.

Hardly two or three days had passed before I went up to Homer the poet when we were both at leisure, and questioned him about everything. "Above all," said I, "where do you come from? This point in particular is being investigated even yet at home." "I am not unaware," said he, "that some think me a Chian, some a Smyrniote and many a Colophonian. As a matter of fact, I am a Babylonian, and among my fellow-countrymen my name was not Homer but Tigranes. Later on, when I was a hostage (*homeros*) among the Greeks, I changed my name." I went on to enquire whether the bracketed lines had been written by him, and he asserted that they were all his own: consequently I held the grammarians Zenodotus and Aristarchus guilty of pedantry in the highest degree. Since he had answered satisfactorily on these points, I next asked him why he began with the wrath of Achilles; and he said that it just came into his head that way, without any study. Moreover, I wanted to know whether he wrote the *Odyssey* before the *Iliad*, as most people say: he said no.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ὥς οἱ πολλοὶ φασιν· ὁ δὲ ἡρνεῖτο. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τυφλὸς ἦν, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν, αὐτίκα ἡπιστάμην· ἑώρων γάρ, ὥστε οὐδὲ πυνθά-
νεσθαι ἐδεόμην. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε τοῦτο ἐποίουν, εἴ ποτε αὐτὸν σχολὴν ἄγοντα ἑώρων·
προσιὼν γάρ τι ἐπυνθανόμην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὃς προ-
θύμως πάντα ἀπεκρίνετο, καὶ μάλιστα μετὰ τὴν
δίκην, ἐπειδὴ ἐκράτησεν· ἦν γάρ τις γραφὴ κατ'
αὐτοῦ ἐπενηνεγμένη ὕβρεως ὑπὸ Θερσίτου ἐφ' οἷς
αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει ἔσκωψεν, καὶ ἐνίκησεν ὁ
"Ὀμηρος" Ὀδυσσέως συναγορεύοντος.

Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἀφίκετο καὶ 21
Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος ἐπτάκις ἀλλαγείς καὶ ἐν
τοσούτοις ζῳοῖς βιοτεύσας καὶ ἐκτελέσας τῆς
ψυχῆς τὰς περιόδους. ἦν δὲ χρυσοῦς ὅλον τὸ
δεξιὸν ἡμίτομον. καὶ ἐκρίθη μὲν συμπολιτεύ-
σασθαι αὐτοῖς, ἐνεδοιάζετο δὲ ἔτι πότερον Πυθα-
γόραν ἢ Εὐφορβον χρὴ αὐτὸν ὀνομάζειν. ὁ μέντοι
Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἦλθεν μὲν καὶ αὐτός, περίεφθος καὶ
τὸ σῶμα ὅλον ὠπτημένος· οὐ μὴν παρεδέχθη
καίτοι πολλὰ ἱκετεύων.

Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐνέστη ὁ ἀγὼν ὁ 22
παρ' αὐτοῖς, τὰ Θανατούσια. ἡγωνοθέτει δὲ
Ἀχιλλεύς τὸ πέμπτον καὶ Θησεὺς τὸ ἑβδομον.
τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα μακρὸν ἂν εἶη λέγειν· τὰ δὲ
κεφάλαια τῶν πραχθέντων διηγήσομαι. πάλιν
μὲν ἐνίκησεν Κάρανος¹ ὁ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους Ὀδυσσέα
περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου καταγωνισάμενος· πυγμὴ δὲ
ἴση ἐγένετο Ἀρείου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ὃς ἐν Κορίνθῳ
τέθαπται, καὶ Ἐπειοῦ ἀλλήλοις συνελθόντων.
παγκρατίου δὲ οὐ τίθεται ἄθλα παρ' αὐτοῖς. τὸν

¹ Κάρανος Gronovius : Κάρος MSS.

A TRUE STORY, II

That he was not blind, as they say, I understood at once—I saw it, and so had no need to ask. Often again at other times I would do this when I saw him at leisure; I would go and make enquiries of him and he would give me a cordial answer to everything, particularly after the lawsuit that he won, for a charge of libel had been brought against him by Thersites because of the way he had ridiculed him in the poem, and the case was won by Homer, with Odysseus for his lawyer.

At about this time arrived Pythagoras of Samos who had undergone seven transformations, had lived in seven bodies and had now ended the migrations of his soul. All his right side was of gold. Judgment was pronounced that he should become a member of their community, but when I left the point was still at issue whether he ought to be called Pythagoras or Euphorbus. Empedocles came too, all burned and his body completely cooked,¹ but he was not received in spite of his many entreaties.

As time went on their games came round, the Games of the Dead. The referees were Achilles, serving for the fifth time, and Theseus for the seventh. The full details would make a long story, but I shall tell the principal things that they did. In wrestling the winner was Caranus, the descendant of Heracles, who defeated Odysseus for the championship. The boxing was a draw between Areius the Egyptian, who is buried at Corinth, and Epeiuis. For combined boxing and wrestling they offer no

¹ From his leap into the crater of Aetna.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

μέντοι δρόμον οὐκέτι μέμνημαι ὅστις ἐνίκησεν. ποιητῶν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐκράτει "Ομηρος, ἐνίκησεν δὲ ὁμως Ἡσίοδος. τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦν ἅπασι στέφανος πλακεῖς ἐκ πτερῶν ταωνείων.

Ἄρτι δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος συντετελεσμένου ἡγγέλλοντο οἱ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τῶν ἀσεβῶν κολαζόμενοι ἀπορρήξαντες τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐπικρατήσαντες ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον· ἡγεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν Φάλαριν τε τὸν Ἀκραγαντῖνον καὶ Βούσιριν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ Διομήδη τὸν Θρᾷκα καὶ τοὺς περὶ Σκίρωνα καὶ Πιτυοκάμπτην. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Ῥαδίμανθος, ἐκτάσσει τοὺς ἥρωας ἐπὶ τῆς ἡόνος· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Θησεύς τε καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ Αἴας ὁ Τελαμώνιος ἥδη σωφρονῶν· καὶ συμμίζαντες ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἐνίκησαν οἱ ἥρωες, Ἀχιλλεύς τὰ πλεῖστα κατορθώσαντος. ἡρίστευσε δὲ καὶ Σωκράτης ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ταχθεὶς, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτε ζῶν ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ ἐμάχετο. προσιόντων γὰρ τεττάρων πολεμίων οὐκ ἔφυγε καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἄτρεπτος ἦν· ἐφ' οἷς καὶ ὕστερον ἐξηρέθη αὐτῷ ἀριστεῖον, καλὸς τε καὶ μέγας παράδεισος ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, ἔνθα καὶ συγκαλῶν τοὺς ἐταίρους διελέγετο, Νεκρακαδημίαν τὸν τόπον προσαγορεύσας. συλλαβόντες οὖν τοὺς νενικημένους καὶ δῆσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν ἔτι μᾶλλον κολασθησόμενους. ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν μάχην "Ομηρος καὶ ἀπιοντι μοι ἔδωκεν τὰ βιβλία κομίζειν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνθρώποις· ἀλλ' ὕστερον καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπωλέσαμεν. ἦν δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ποιήματος αὕτη,

Νῦν δέ μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, μάχην νεκύων ἡρώων.

A TRUE STORY, II

prizes. In the foot-race I do not remember who won and in poetry, Homer was really far the best man, but Hesiod won. The prize in each case was a crown that was plaited of peacock feathers.

Hardly had the games been concluded when word came that those who were under punishment in the place of the wicked had burst their bonds, had overpowered their guard, and were advancing on the island: that they were under the leadership of Phalaris of Acragas, Busiris the Egyptian, Diomed of Thrace, and Sciron and Pityocampes. When Rhadamanthus heard of this he mustered the heroes on the shore. They were led by Theseus, Achilles and Ajax, the son of Telamon, who by this time had recovered his wits. They engaged and fought, and the heroes won. Achilles contributed most to their success, but Socrates, who was stationed on the right wing, was brave, too—far more so than when he fought at Delium in his lifetime. When four of the enemy came at him he did not run away but kept his face to the front. For this they afterwards gave him a special reward, a beautiful great park in the suburbs, where he used to gather his comrades and dispute: he named the place the Academy of the Dead. Arresting the losers and putting them in irons, they sent them off to be punished still more severely than before. An account of this battle was written by Homer, and as I was leaving he gave me the book to take to the people at home, but later I lost it along with everything else. The poem began:

This time sing me, O Muse, of the shades of the
heroes in battle!

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

τότε δ' οὖν κυάμους ἐψήσαντες, ὥσπερ παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμος ἐπειδὰν πόλεμον κατορθώσωσιν, εἰσιτῶντο τὰ ἐπινίκια καὶ ἑορτὴν μεγάλην ἤγουν· μόνος δὲ αὐτῆς οὐ μετεῖχε Πυθαγόρας, ἀλλ' ἄσιτος πόρρω ἐκαθέζετο μυσαιττόμενος τὴν κυανοφαγίαν.

Ἦδη δὲ μηνῶν ἕξ διεληλυθότων περὶ μεσοῦντα 25
τὸν ἑβδομον νεώτερα συνίστατο πράγματα· Κινύρας ὁ τοῦ Σκιυθάρου παῖς, μέγας ὢν καὶ καλός, ἦρα πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον τῆς Ἑλένης, καὶ αὕτη δὲ οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν ἐπιμανῶς ἀγαπῶσα τὸν νεανίσκον· πολλάκις γοῦν καὶ διένευον ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ προὔπινον καὶ μόνοι ἐξανίστάμενοι ἐπλανῶντο περὶ τὴν ὕλην. καὶ δὴ ποτὲ ὑπ' ἔρωτος καὶ ἀμυχανίας ἐβουλεύσατο ὁ Κινύρας ἀρπάσας τὴν Ἑλένην—ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ κείνη ταῦτα—οἷχεσθαι ἀπιόντας ἕς τινα τῶν ἐπικειμένων νήσων, ἦτοι ἐς τὴν Φελλῶ ἢ ἐς τὴν Τυρόεσσαν. συνωμότας δὲ πάλαι προσειλήφεσαν τρεῖς τῶν ἐταίρων τῶν ἐμῶν τοὺς θρασυτάτους. τῷ μέντοι πατρὶ οὐκ ἐμήνυσε ταῦτα· ἠπίστατο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κωλυθησόμενος. ὥς δὲ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς, ἐτέλουν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ νύξ ἐγένετο—ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ παρῆν· ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ κοιμώμενος—οἱ δὲ λαθόντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἀναλαβόντες τὴν Ἑλένην ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀνήχθησαν. περὶ 26
δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ἀνεγρόμενος ὁ Μενέλαος ἐπεὶ ἔμαθεν τὴν εὐνὴν κενὴν τῆς γυναικός, βοήν τε ἴσθη καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν παραλαβὼν ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν. ἡμέρας δὲ ὑποφαινούσης ἔλεγον οἱ σκοποὶ καθορᾶν τὴν ναῦν πολὺ ἀπέχουσαν· οὕτω δὲ ἐμβιβάσας ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυσ

A TRUE STORY, II

But to return—they cooked beans,¹ as is their custom when they are successful at war, had a feast in honour of the victory and made a great holiday. Pythagoras was the only one who did not take part in it; he sat by himself and went dinnerless because he detested beans.

Six months had passed and it was about the middle of the seventh when sedition arose. Cinyras, the son of Scintharus, a tall and handsome lad, had long been in love with Helen, and it was no secret that she herself was madly enamoured of the boy. For instance, they often winked to one another at table, drank to each other and got up together and wandered about the wood. Well, one fine day through love and despair Cinyras determined to rape Helen—she agreed to it—and go to one of the islands in the offing, either Cork or Cheesie. As accomplices they had long ago taken on three of the most reckless of my comrades; but Cinyras did not inform his father, for he knew that he would not let him do it. When they had come to a decision, they carried out their stratagem. It was at nightfall, and I was not on hand, as I chanced to be taking a nap under the table. Without the knowledge of the rest they carried Helen off and put to sea in haste. About midnight, when Menelaus woke up, and found that his wife was not in bed, he made a great stir and took his brother and went to King Rhadamanthus. But as day began to break the lookouts said that they saw the ship far out at sea. Then Rhadamanthus put fifty of the heroes aboard a

¹ An allusion to the Pyanepsia, the Athenian Beanfeast.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πεντήκοντα τῶν ἡρώων εἰς ναῦν μονόξυλον ἀσφο-
 δελίνην παρήγγειλεν διώκειν· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ προθυμίας
 ἐλαύνοντες περὶ μεσημβρίαν καταλαμβάνουσιν
 αὐτοὺς ἄρτι ἐς τὸν γαλακτώδη τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ τόπον
 ἐμβαίνοντας πλησίον τῆς Τυροέσσης· παρὰ το-
 σοῦτον ἦλθον διαδρᾶναι· καὶ ἀναδησάμενοι τὴν
 ναῦν ἀλύσει ῥοδίνῃ κατέπλεον. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἑλένη
 ἐδάκρυν τε καὶ ῥσχύνετο κἀνεκαλύπτετο, τοὺς
 δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κινύραν ἀνακρίνας πρότερον ὁ Ῥαδά-
 μανθυσ, εἴ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς συνίσασιν, ὥς
 οὐδένα εἶπον, ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων δῆσας ἀπέπεμψεν
 ἐς τὸν τῶν ἀσεβῶν χώρον μαλάχῃ πρότερον
 μαστιγωθέντας. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐμ- 27
 προθέσμως ἐκπέμπειν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, τὴν ἐπιου-
 σαν ἡμέραν μόνην ἐπιμείναντας.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγὼ ἐποτνιώμην τε καὶ ἐδάκρουν
 οἷα ἔμελλον ἀγαθὰ καταλιπὼν αὐθις πλανηθή-
 σεσθαι. αὐτοὶ μέντοι παρεμυθοῦντο λέγοντες οὐ
 πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἀφίξεσθαι πάλιν ὥς αὐτούς, καί
 μοι ἤδη εἰς τοῦπιόν θρόνον τε καὶ κλισίαν ἐπεδεί-
 κνυσαν πλησίον τῶν ἀρίστων. ἐγὼ δὲ προσελθὼν
 τῷ Ῥαδαμάνθυι πολλὰ ἐκέτευν εἰπεῖν τὰ μέλλοντα
 καὶ ὑποδείξαι μοι τὸν πλοῦν. ὁ δὲ ἔφασκεν
 ἀφίξεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πολλὰ πρότερον
 πλανηθέντα καὶ κινδυνεύσαντα, τὸν δὲ χρόνον
 οὐκέτι τῆς ἐπανόδου προσθεῖναι ἠθέλησεν· ἀλλὰ
 δὴ καὶ δεικνὺς τὰς πλησίον νήσους—ἐφαίνοντο
 δὲ πέντε τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἄλλη δὲ ἕκτη πόρρωθεν—
 ταύτας μὲν εἶναι ἔφασκεν τῶν ἀσεβῶν, τὰς
 πλησίον, Ἀφ' ὧν, ἔφη, ἤδη τὸ πολὺ πῦρ ὀράς
 καιόμενον, ἕκτη δὲ ἐκείνῃ τῶν ὀνείρων ἡ πόλις·
 μετὰ ταύτην δὲ ἡ τῆς Καλυψοῦς νήσος, ἀλλ'

A TRUE STORY, II

ship made of a single log of asphodel and ordered them to give chase. Rowing with a will, they overtook them about noon, just as they were entering the milky place in the ocean near Cheesie—that is all they lacked of escaping! Securing the ship with a hawser of roses, they sailed home. Helen cried and hid her head for shame. As to Cinyras and the rest, first Rhadamanthus asked them if they had any other accomplices, and they said no; then he had them secured by the offending member and sent them away to the place of the wicked, after they had been first scourged with mallow. The heroes voted, too, that we be dismissed from the island before our time was up, remaining only till the next day.

Thereupon I began to cry aloud and weep because I had to leave such blessings behind me and resume my wanderings. But they cheered me up, saying that before many years I should come back to them again, and they even pointed out to me my future chair and couch, close to the best people. I went to Rhadamanthus and earnestly besought him to tell me what would happen and indicate my course. He said that I should reach my native land in spite of many wanderings and dangers, but refused to tell the time of my return. However, pointing out the islands near by—there were five in sight and a sixth in the distance—, “These,” said he, “are the Isles of the Wicked, here close at hand, from which you see all the smoke arising: the sixth yonder is the City of Dreams. Next comes the island of Calypso, but

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οὐδέπω σοι φαίνεται. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταύτας παρα-
πλεύσης, τότε δὴ ἀφίξῃ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἡπειρον
τὴν ἐναντίαν τῇ ὑφ' ὑμῶν¹ κατοικουμένην· ἐνταῦθα
δὴ πολλὰ παθὼν καὶ ποικίλα ἔβη διελθὼν καὶ
ἀνθρώποις ἀμίκτοις ἐπιδημήσας χρόνῳ ποτὲ ἤξεις
εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν ἡπειρον.

Τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, καὶ ἀνασπάσας ἀπὸ τῆς 28
γῆς μαλάχης ῥίζαν ὥρεξέν μοι, ταύτῃ κελεύσας
ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις προσεύχεσθαι· παρή-
νεσε δὲ εἰ καὶ ποτε ἀφικοίμην ἐς τήνδε τὴν γῆν,
μήτε πῦρ μαχαίρα σκαλεύειν μήτε θέρμους
ἐσθίειν μήτε παιδί ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη
πλησιάζειν· τούτων γὰρ ἂν μεμνημένον ἐλπίδας
ἔχειν τῆς εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἀφίξεως.

Τότε μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν παρεσκευα-
σάμην, καὶ ἐπεὶ καιρὸς ἦν, συνειστιώμην αὐτοῖς.
τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἐλθὼν πρὸς Ὀμηρον τὸν ποιητὴν
ἐδεήθην αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαί μοι δίστιχον ἐπίγραμμα·
καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐποίησεν, στήλην βηρύλλου λίθου
ἀναστήσας ἐπέγραψα πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. τὸ δὲ
ἐπίγραμμα ἦν τοιόνδε·

Λουκιανὸς τάδε πάντα φίλος μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν
εἶδέ τε καὶ πάλιν ἦλθε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

μείνας δὲ κάκεινην τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ ἐπιούσῃ 29
ἀνηγόμεν τῶν ἡρώων παραπεμπόντων. ἔνθα μοι
καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς προσελθὼν λάβρα τῆς Πηνελόπης
δίδωσιν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς Ὠγυγίαν τὴν νῆσον Κα-
λυψοῖ κομίζειν. συνέπεμψε δέ μοι ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς
τὸν πορθμέα Ναύπλιον, ἕν' ἂν καταχθῶμεν

¹ ὑμῶν du Soul : ἡμῶν MSS,

A TRUE STORY, II

you cannot see it yet. When you have sailed by these, you will finally come to the great continent opposite the one which your people inhabit. Then at last, after you have had many adventures and have travelled through all sorts of countries and lived among unfriendly men, in course of time you will reach the other continent."

With these words he plucked a root of mallow from the ground and handed it to me, telling me to pray to it in my greatest straits. And he advised me if ever I reached this country, neither to stir the fire with a sword-blade nor to eat lupines nor to make love to anyone over eighteen,¹ saying that if I bore these points in mind I might have good hopes of getting back to the island.

Well, I made preparations for the voyage, and when the time came, joined them at the feast. On the next day I went to the poet Homer and begged him to compose me a couplet to carve up, and when he had done so, I set up a slab of beryl near the harbour and had the couplet carved on it. It was :

One Lucian, whom the blessed gods befriend,
Beheld what's here, and home again did wend.

I stayed that day, too, and put to sea on the next, escorted by the heroes. At that juncture Odysseus came to me without the knowledge of Penelope and gave me a letter to carry to Ogygia Island, to Calypso. Rhadamanthus sent the pilot Nauplius with me, so that if we touched at the

¹ The first is a real Pythagorean precept, or what passed for such (Plut. *Mor.* 12 κ); the other two are parodies.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐς τὰς νήσους, μηδεὶς ἡμᾶς συλλάβῃ ἄτε κατ' ἄλλην ἐμπορίαν καταπλέοντας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν εὐώδη ἀέρα προϊόντες παρεληλυθήμεν, αὐτίκα ἡμᾶς ὁσμή τε δεινὴ διεδέχετο οἶον ἀσφάλτου καὶ θείου καὶ πίττης ἅμα καιομένων, καὶ κνῖσα δὲ πονηρὰ καὶ ἀφόρητος ὥσπερ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ὀπτωμένων, καὶ ὁ ἀῆρ ζοφερός καὶ ὀμιχλώδης, καὶ κατέσταζεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δρόσος πιττίνῃ· ἡκούομεν δὲ καὶ μαστίγων ψόφον καὶ οἰμωγὴν ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν. ταῖς μὲν οὖν 30
 ἄλλαις οὐ προσέσχομεν, ἥς δὲ ἐπέβημεν, τοιάδε ἦν· κύκλω μὲν πᾶσα κρημνώδης καὶ ἀπόξυρος, πέτραις καὶ τράχωσι κατεσκληκυῖα, δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὕδωρ ἐνῆν· ἀνερπύσαντες δὲ ὅμως κατὰ τοὺς κρημνοὺς προῆμεν διὰ τινος ἀκανθώδους καὶ σκολόπων μεστής ἀτραποῦ, πολλὴν ἀμορφίαν τῆς χώρας ἐχούσης. ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρκτὴν καὶ τὸ κολαστήριον, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν φύσιν τοῦ τόπου ἐθαυμάζομεν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔδαφος αὐτὸ μαχαίραις καὶ σκόλοψι πάντῃ ἐξηνθήκει, κύκλω δὲ ποταμοὶ περριέρρου, ὁ μὲν βορβόρου, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος αἵματος, ὁ δὲ ἐνδον πυρός, πάνυ μέγας οὗτος καὶ ἀπέρατος, καὶ ἔρρει ὥσπερ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐκυματοῦτο ὥσπερ θάλαττα, καὶ ἰχθύς δὲ εἶχεν πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν δαλοῖς προσεοικότας, τοὺς δὲ μικροὺς ἀνθραξι πεπυρωμένοις· ἐκάλουν δὲ αὐτοὺς λυχνίσκους. εἴσοδος δὲ μία στενὴ διὰ πάντων ἦν, καὶ 31
 πυλωρὸς ἐφειστήκει Τίμων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. παρελθόντες δὲ ὅμως τοῦ Ναυπλίου καθηγουμένου ἐωρῶμεν κολαζομένους πολλοὺς μὲν βασιλέας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτας, ὧν ἐνίους καὶ ἐγνωρίζομεν· εἶδομεν δὲ καὶ τὸν Κινύραν καπνῷ ὑποτυφόμενον

A TRUE STORY, II

islands no one might arrest us, thinking we were putting in on another errand.

Forging ahead, we had passed out of the fragrant atmosphere when of a sudden a terrible odour greeted us as of asphalt, sulphur, and pitch burning together, and a vile, insufferable stench as of roasting human flesh : the atmosphere was murky and foggy, and a pitchy dew distilled from it. Likewise we heard the noise of scourges and the wailing of many men. The other islands we did not touch at, but the one on which we landed was precipitous and sheer on all sides ; it was roughened with rocks and stony places, and there was neither tree nor water in it. We crawled up the cliffs, however, and went ahead in a path full of thorns and calthrops, finding the country very ugly. On coming to the enclosure and the place of punishment, first of all we wondered at the nature of the region. The ground itself was all sown with sword blades and calthrops, and around it flowed three rivers, one of mud, the second of blood and the inmost one of fire. The latter was very large, and impossible to cross : it ran like water and undulated like the sea, and it contained many fish, some similar to torches, and some, a smaller variety, to live coals. They called them candlefish. There was a single narrow way leading in, past all the rivers, and the warder set there was Timon of Athens. We got through, however, and with Nauplius for our conductor we saw many kings undergoing punishment, and many commoners too. Some of them we even recognized, and we saw Cinyras

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων ἀπηρτημένον. προσετίθεσαν δὲ οἱ περιγηγῆται καὶ τοὺς ἐκάστων βίους καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐφ' αἷς κολάζονται· καὶ μεγίστας ἀπασῶν τιμωρίας ὑπέμενον οἱ ψευδάμενοί τι παρὰ τὸν βίον καὶ οἱ μὴ τὰ ἀληθῆ συγγεγραφότες, ἐν οἷς καὶ Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος ἦν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. τούτους οὖν ὁρῶν ἐγὼ χρηστὰς εἶχον εἰς τοῦπιόν τὰς ἐλπίδας· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ ψεύδος εἰπόντι συνηπιστάμην. ταχέως οὖν ἀναστρέψας 32 ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν—οὐ γὰρ ἐδυνάμην φέρειν τὴν ὄψιν—ἀσπασάμενος τὸν Ναύπλιον ἀπέπλευσα.

Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐφαίνετο πλησίον ἡ τῶν ὀνείρων νῆσος, ἀμυδρὰ καὶ ἀσαφὴς ἰδεῖν· εἶχε δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τι τοῖς ὀνείροις παραπλήσιον· ὑπεχώρει γὰρ προσιόντων ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπέφευγε καὶ πορρωτέρω ὑπέβαινε. καταλαβόντες δὲ ποτε αὐτὴν καὶ εἰσπλεύσαντες εἰς τὸν Ὑπνον λιμένα προσαγορευόμενον πλησίον τῶν πυλῶν τῶν ἐλεφαντίνων, ἥ τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεκτρυόνης ἱερόν ἐστιν, περὶ δείλην ὄψιαν ἀπεβαίνομεν· παρελθόντες δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν πολλοὺς ὀνείρους καὶ ποικίλους ἐωρῶμεν. πρῶτον δὲ βούλομαι περὶ τῆς πόλεως εἰπεῖν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ ἄλλῳ τινὶ γέγραπται περὶ αὐτῆς, ὅς δὲ καὶ μόνος ἐπεμνήσθη Ὁμηρος, οὐ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς συνέγραψεν. κύκλῳ μὲν περὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὕλη 33 ἀνέστηκεν, τὰ δένδρα δὲ ἐστὶ μήκωνες ὑψηλαὶ καὶ μανδραγόραι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν πολὺ τι πλήθος νυκτερίδων· τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γίνεται ὄρνεον. ποταμὸς δὲ παραρρεῖ πλησίον ὁ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλούμενος Νυκτίπορος, καὶ πηγαὶ δύο παρὰ τὰς πύλας· ὀνόματα καὶ ταύταις, τῇ μὲν

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triced up as aforesaid in the smoke of a slow fire. The guides told the life of each, and the crimes for which they were being punished ; and the severest punishment of all fell to those who told lies while in life and those who had written what was not true, among whom were Ctesias of Cnidos, Herodotus and many more. On seeing them, I had good hopes for the future, for I have never told a lie that I know of. Well, I turned back to the ship quickly, for I could not endure the sight, said good-bye to Nauplius, and sailed away.

After a short time the Isle of Dreams came in sight close by, faint and uncertain to the eye. It had itself some likeness to a dream, for as we approached it receded and retired and retreated to a greater distance. Overtaking it at length and sailing into the harbour called Sleep, we landed near the ivory gates, where the sanctuary of the Cock is, about dusk, and on entering the city, we saw many dreams of all sorts. But first I desire to speak of the city itself, since no one else has written about it, and Homer, the only one to mention it at all, was not quite accurate in what he said.¹ On all sides of it is a wood, in which the trees are tall poppies and mandragoras, and they have a great number of bats in them ; for there is no other winged thing in the island. A river flows near which they call Sleep-walker, and there are two springs by the gates,

¹ *Odys.* 19, 560 ff.

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Νήγρετος, τῇ δὲ Παννυχία. ὁ περίβολος δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑψηλός τε καὶ ποικίλος, ἱριδι τὴν χροάν ὁμοιότατος· πύλαι μέντοι ἔπεισιν οὐ δύο, καθάπερ "Ομηρος εἶρηκεν, ἀλλὰ τέσσαρες, δύο μὲν πρὸς τὸ τῆς Βλακείας πεδῖον ἀποβλέπουσai, ἡ μὲν σιδηρᾶ, ἡ δὲ ἐκ κεράμου πεποιημένη, καθ' ἧς ἐλέγοντο ἀποδημεῖν αὐτῶν οἳ τε φοβεροὶ καὶ φονικοὶ καὶ ἀπηνεῖς, δύο δὲ πρὸς τὸν λιμένα καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἡ μὲν κερατίνη, ἡ δὲ καθ' ἣν ἡμεῖς παρήλθομεν ἐλεφαντίνη. εἰσιόντι δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἐστι τὸ Νυκτῶον—σέβουσι γὰρ θεῶν ταύτην μάλιστα καὶ τὸν Ἀλεκτρυόνα· ἐκείνῳ δὲ πλησίον τοῦ λιμένος τὸ ἱερὸν πεποιήται—ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὰ τοῦ "Υπνου βασιλεία. οὗτος γὰρ δὴ ἄρχει παρ' αὐτοῖς σατράπας δύο καὶ ὑπάρχους πεποιημένους, Ταραξίωνά τε τὸν Ματαιογένους καὶ Πλουτοκλέα τὸν Φαντασίωνος. ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ ἀγορᾷ πηγὴ τίς ἐστιν, ἣν καλοῦσι Καρεῶτιν· καὶ πλησίον ναοὶ δύο, Ἀπάτης καὶ Ἀληθείας· ἐνθα καὶ τὸ ἄδυτόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, οὗ προειστήκει προφητεύων Ἀντιφῶν ὁ τῶν ὀνείρων ὑποκριτής, ταύτης παρὰ τοῦ "Υπνου λαχὼν τῆς τιμῆς. αὐτῶν μέντοι τῶν ὀνείρων οὔτε φύσις 34 οὔτε ἰδέα ἡ αὐτή, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν μακροὶ ἦσαν καὶ καλοὶ καὶ εὐειδεῖς, οἱ δὲ μικροὶ καὶ ἄμορφοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν χρύσειοι, ὥς ἐδόκουν, οἱ δὲ ταπεινοὶ τε καὶ εὐτελεῖς. ἦσαν δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πτερωτοὶ τινες καὶ τερατώδεις, καὶ ἄλλοι καθάπερ ἐς πομπὴν διεσκευασμένοι, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασιλέας, οἱ δὲ ἐς θεούς, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἄλλα τοιαῦτα κεκοσμημένοι. πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγνωρίσαμεν, πάλαι παρ' ἡμῖν ἐωρακότες, οἳ δὴ καὶ προσήεσαν καὶ ἡσπάζοντο

A TRUE STORY, II

named Soundly and Eight-hours. The wall of the city is high and parti-coloured, very like a rainbow in tint. The gates in it are not two, as Homer says, but four. Two face Slowcoach Plain, one of which is of iron and the other of earthenware ; through these, it is said, the fearful, murderous, revolting dreams go out. The other two face the harbour and the sea, one of which is of horn and the other, through which we came in, of ivory. As one enters the city, on the right is the temple of Night, for the gods they worship most are Night and the Cock, whose sanctuary is built near the harbour. On the left is the palace of Sleep, who rules among them and has appointed two satraps or lieutenants, Nightmare, son of Causeless, and Rich, son of Fancy. In the centre of the square is a spring which they call Drowsimere, and close to it are two temples, that of Falsehood and that of Truth. There too is their holy of holies and their oracle, which Antiphon, the interpreter of dreams, presided over as prophet, having had this office from Sleep. As to the dreams themselves, they differ from one another both in nature and in looks. Some were tall, handsome and well-proportioned, while others were small and ugly ; and some were rich, I thought, while others were humble and beggarly. There were winged and portentous dreams among them, and there were others dressed up as if for a carnival, being clothed to represent kings and gods and different characters of the sort. We actually recognised many of them, whom we had seen long ago at home. These came

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ὥς ἂν καὶ συνήθεις ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ παραλαβόντες ἡμᾶς καὶ κατακοιμίσαντες πάνυ λαμπρῶς καὶ δεξιῶς ἐξενίσουν, τήν τε ἄλλην ὑποδοχὴν μεγαλοπρεπῇ παρασκευάσαντες καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι βασιλέας τε ποιήσιν καὶ σατράπας. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἀπήγον ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς πατρίδας καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπεδείκνυν καὶ αὐθημερόν ἐπανήγον. ἡμέρας μὲν οὖν τριάκοντα καὶ ἴσας νύκτας 35 παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐμείναμεν καθεύδοντες εὐωχούμενοι. ἔπειτα δὲ ἄφνω βροντῆς μεγάλης καταρραγείσης ἀνεγρόμενοι καὶ ἀναθορόντες ἀνήχθημεν ἐπισιτισάμενοι.

Τριταῖοι δ' ἐκεῖθεν τῇ Ὠγυγίᾳ νήσῳ προσσχόντες ἀπεβαίνομεν. πρότερον δ' ἐγὼ λύσας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνεγίνωσκον τὰ γεγραμμένα. ἦν δὲ τοιάδε· Ὀδυσσεὺς Καλυψοῖ χαίρειν. Ἴσθι με, ὥς τὰ πρῶτα ἐξέπλευσα παρὰ σοῦ τὴν σχεδίαν κατασκευασάμενος, ναυαγία χρησάμενον μόλις ὑπὸ Λευκοθέας διασωθῆναι εἰς τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων χώραν, ὑφ' ᾧ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀποπεμφθεὶς κατέλαβον πολλοὺς τῆς γυναικὸς μνηστήρας ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις τρυφῶντας· ἀποκτείνας δὲ ἅπαντας ὑπὸ Τηλεγόνου ὕστερον τοῦ ἐκ Κίρκης μοι γενομένου ἀνηρέθην, καὶ νῦν εἰμι ἐν τῇ Μακάρων νήσῳ πάνυ μετανοῶν ἐπὶ τῷ καταλιπεῖν τὴν παρὰ σοὶ δίαιταν καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ προτεινομένην ἀθανασίαν. ἦν οὖν καιροῦ λάβωμαι, ἀποδρὰς ἀφίξομαι πρὸς σέ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐδήλου ἢ ἐπιστολή, καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅπως ξεισθῶμεν. ἐγὼ δὲ προελθὼν ὀλίγον 36 ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης εὗρον τὸ σπήλαιον τοιοῦτον οἶον Ὅμηρος εἶπεν, καὶ αὐτὴν ταλασιουργοῦσαν.

A TRUE STORY, II

up to us and greeted us like old acquaintances, took us with them, put us to sleep and entertained us very splendidly and hospitably. They treated us like lords in every way, and even promised to make us kings and nabobs. A few of them actually took us off home, gave us a sight of our friends and families and brought us back the same day. For thirty days and thirty nights we stopped with them and fared finely—in our sleep! Then of a sudden a great thunder-clap came; we woke up, sprang out of bed and put to sea as soon as we had laid in supplies.

On the third day out from there we touched at the island of Ogygia and landed. But first I opened the letter and read what was in it. It was :

“Odysseus to Calypso, greeting.

“Soon after I built the raft and sailed away from you I was shipwrecked, and with the help of Leucothea managed to reach the land of the Phaeacians in safety. They sent me home, and there I found that my wife had a number of suitors who were living on the fat of the land at our house. I killed them all, and was afterwards slain by Telegonus, my son by Circe. Now I am on the Isle of the Blest, thoroughly sorry to have given up my life with you and the immortality which you offered me. Therefore, if I get a chance, I shall run away and come to you.” In addition to this, the letter said that she was to entertain us. On going a short way from the sea I found the cave, which was as Homer described it,¹ and found Calypso herself working wool. When

¹ *Odys.* 5, 55 ff.

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ὥς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔλαβεν καὶ ἐπελέξατο, πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐδάκρυνεν, ἔπειτα δὲ παρεκάλει ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ ξένια καὶ εἰστία λαμπρῶς καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ περὶ τῆς Πηνελόπης, ὅποια τε εἴη τὴν ὄψιν καὶ εἰ σωφρονοίη, καθάπερ Ὀδυσσεὺς πάλαι περὶ αὐτῆς ἐκόμπαζεν· καὶ ἡμεῖς τοιαῦτα ἀπεκρινάμεθα, ἐξ ὧν εἰκάζομεν εὐφρανεῖσθαι αὐτήν.

Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπελθόντες ἐπὶ ναῦν πλησίον ἐπὶ τῆς ῥόνος ἐκοιμήθημεν. ἔωθεν δὲ ἀνηγόμεθα 37 σφοδρότερον κατιόντος τοῦ πνεύματος· καὶ διῇ χειμασθέντες ἡμέρας δύο τῇ τρίτῃ περιπίπτομεν τοῖς Κολοκυνθοπειραταῖς. ἄνθρωποι δὲ εἰσιν οὗτοι ἄγριοι ἐκ τῶν πλησίον νήσων ληστεύοντες τοὺς παραπλέοντας. τὰ πλοῖα δὲ ἔχουσι μεγάλα κολοκύνθινα τὸ μῆκος πήχεων ἐξήκοντα· ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ξηράνωσι τὴν κολόκυνθαν, κοιλάναντες αὐτήν καὶ ἐξελόντες τὴν ἐντεριώνην ἐμπλέουσιν, ἱστοῖς μὲν χρώμενοι καλαμίνοις, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ὀθόνης τῷ φύλλῳ τῆς κολοκύνθης. προσβαλόντες οὖν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ δύο πληρωμάτων ἐμάχοντο καὶ πολλοὺς κατετραυμάτιζον βάλλοντες ἀντὶ λίθων τῷ σπέρματι τῶν κολοκυνθῶν. ἀγχωμάλως δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ ναυμαχοῦντες περὶ μεσημβρίαν εἶδομεν κατόπιν τῶν Κολοκυνθοπειρατῶν προσπλέοντας τοὺς Καρυοναῦτας. πολέμιοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις, ὥς ἔδειξαν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ κακείμενοι ἦσθοντο αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἡμῶν μὲν ὀλιγώρησαν, τραπόμενοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐναυμάχουν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ ἐπάραντες τὴν 38 ὀθόνην ἐφεύγομεν ἀπολιπόντες αὐτοὺς μαχομένους, καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν κρατήσοντες οἱ Καρυοναῦται ἅτε

A TRUE STORY, II

she had taken the letter and read it, she wept a long time at first, and then she asked us in to enjoy her hospitality, gave us a splendid feast and enquired about Odysseus and Penelope—how she looked and whether she was prudent, as Odysseus used to boast in old times.¹ We made her such answers as we thought would please her.

After that, we went back to the ship and slept beside it on the shore, and early in the morning we put to sea in a rising wind. We were storm-tossed for two days, and on the third we fell in with the Pumpkin-pirates. They are savages from the neighbouring islands who prey on passing sailors. They have large boats of pumpkin, sixty cubits long; for after drying a pumpkin they hollow it out, take out the insides and go sailing in it, using reeds for masts and a pumpkin-leaf for a sail. They attacked us with two crews and gave us battle, wounding many of us by hitting us with pumpkin-seeds instead of stones. After fighting for a long time on even terms, about noon we saw the Nut-sailors coming up astern of the Pumpkin-pirates. They were enemies to one another, as they showed by their actions; for when the Pumpkin-pirates noticed them coming up, they neglected us and faced about and fought with them. But in the meantime we hoisted our canvas and fled, leaving them fighting. It was evident that the Nut-sailors would win, as they were in greater

¹ *Odys.* 5, 21 ff.

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καὶ πλείους—πέντε γὰρ εἶχον πληρώματα—καὶ ἀπὸ ἰσχυροτέρων νεῶν μαχόμενοι· τὰ γὰρ πλοῖα ἦν αὐτοῖς κελύφη καρύων ἡμίτομα, κεκενωμένα, μέγεθος δὲ ἐκάστου ἡμιτόμου εἰς μῆκος ὀργυιαί πεντεκαίδεκα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρύψαμεν αὐτούς, ἰώμεθα τοὺς τραυματίας, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ὡς ἐπίπαν ἤμεν, αἰεὶ τινὰς ἐπιβουλάς προσδεχόμενοι οὐ μάτην. οὐπω γοῦν ἐδεδύκει ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ ἀπὸ 39 τινος ἐρήμου νήσου προσήλανον ἡμῖν ὅσον εἴκοσι ἄνδρες ἐπὶ δελφίνων μεγάλων ὀχούμενοι, λησταὶ καὶ οὔτοι· καὶ οἱ δελφῖνες αὐτοὺς ἔφερον ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ἀναπηδῶντες ἐχρεμέτιζον ὥσπερ ἵπποι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἦσαν, διαστάντες οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, οἱ δὲ ἐνθεν ἔβαλλον ἡμᾶς σηπῖαις ξηραῖς καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς καρκίνων. τοξενόντων δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀκοντιζόντων οὐκέτι ὑπέμενον, ἀλλὰ τρωθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν νήσον κατέφυγον.

Περὶ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον γαλήνης οὔσης 40 ἐλάθομεν προσοκείλαντες ἀλκύνος καλιᾶ παμμεγέθει· σταδίων γοῦν ἦν αὕτη ἐξήκοντα τὸ περίμετρον. ἐπέπλεεν δὲ ἡ ἀλκυὼν τὰ φᾶ θάλπουσα οὐ πολὺ μείων τῆς καλιᾶς. καὶ δὴ ἀναπταμένη μικροῦ μὲν κατέδυσε τὴν ναῦν τῷ ἀνέμῳ τῶν πτερῶν. ὥχετο δ' οὖν φεύγουσα γοερὰν τινα φωνὴν προῖεμένη. ἐπιβάντες δὲ ἡμεῖς ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑποφαινούσης ἐθεώμεθα τὴν καλιὰν σχεδία μεγάλην προσοικυῖαν ἐκ δένδρων μεγάλων συμπεφορημένην· ἐπὶν δὲ καὶ φᾶ πεντακόσια, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν Χίου πίθου περιπληθέστερον. ἤδη μέντοι καὶ οἱ νεοττοὶ ἐνδοθεν ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἔκρωζον. πελέκεσιν γοῦν διακόψαντες ἐν τῶν

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numbers—they had five crews—and fought from stouter ships. Their boats were the halves of empty nutshells, each of which measured fifteen fathoms in length.

When we had lost them from sight, we attended to the wounded, and thereafter we kept under arms most of the time, always looking for attacks. And we did not look in vain. In fact, the sun had not yet gone down when from a desert island there came out against us about twenty men riding on huge dolphins, who were pirates like the others. The dolphins carried them securely and plunged and neighed like horses. When they were close by, they separated and threw at us from both sides with dry cuttle-fish and crabs' eyes. But when we let fly at them with spears and arrows, they could not hold their ground, but fled to the island, most of them wounded.

About midnight, while it was calm, we unexpectedly ran aground on an enormous kingfisher's nest; really, it was sixty furlongs in circumference. The female was sailing on it, keeping her eggs warm, and she was not much smaller than the nest—in fact, as she started up she almost sunk the ship with the wind of her wings. She flew off, however, uttering a plaintive cry. We landed when day began to break, and observed that the nest was like a great raft, built of huge trees. There were five hundred eggs in it, every one of them bigger than a Chian wine-jar, and the chicks were already visible inside them and were chirping. We cut open one

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ῥῶν νεοττὸν ἄπτερον ἐξεκολάψαμεν εἴκοσι γυπῶν
ἀδρότερον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείοντες ἀπείχομεν τῆς καλιᾶς ὅσον 41
σταδίους διακοσίους, τέρατα ἡμῖν μεγάλα καὶ
θαυμαστὰ ἐπεσήμανεν· ὃ τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ
χηνίσκος ἄφνω ἐπτερύξατο καὶ ἀνεβόησεν, καὶ ὁ
κυβερνήτης ὁ Σκίνθαρος φαλακρὸς ἤδη ὢν ἀνεκό-
μησεν, καὶ τὸ πάντων δὴ παραδοξότατον, ὁ γὰρ
ἰστός τῆς νεῶς ἐξεβλάστησεν καὶ κλάδους ἀνέ-
φυσεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ ἐκαρποφόρησεν, ὁ δὲ
καρπὸς ἦν σῦκα καὶ σταφυλὴ μέλαινα, οὐπω
πέπειρος. ταῦτα ἰδόντες ὡς εἰκὸς ἐταράχθημεν
καὶ ηὐχόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς διὰ τὸ ἀλλόκοτον τοῦ
φαντάσματος. οὐπω δὲ πεντακοσίους σταδίους 42
διελθόντες εἶδομεν ὕλην μεγίστην καὶ λάσιον
πιτύων καὶ κυπαρίττων. καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν εἰκάσαμεν
ἥπειρον εἶναι· τὸ δ' ἦν πέλαγος ἄβυσσον ἀρρίζοις
δένδροις καταπεφυτευμένον· εἰστήκει δὲ τὰ δένδρα
ὅμως ἀκίνητα, ὁρθὰ καθάπερ ἐπιπλέοντα. πλη-
σιύσαντες οὖν καὶ τὸ πᾶν κατανοήσαντες ἐν
ἀπόρῳ εἰχόμεθα τί χρή δρᾶν· οὔτε γὰρ διὰ
τῶν δένδρων πλεῖν δυνατόν ἦν—πυκνὰ γὰρ καὶ
προσεχῇ ὑπῆρχεν—οὔτε ἀναστρέφειν ἐδόκει
ῥάδιον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ μέγιστον δένδρον
ἀπεσκόπουν¹ τὰ ἐπέκεινα ὅπως ἔχοι, καὶ ἐώρων
ἐπὶ σταδίους μὲν πεντήκοντα ἢ ὀλίγῳ πλείους
τὴν ὕλην οὔσαν, ἔπειτα δὲ αὐθις ἕτερον ὠκεανὸν
ἐκδεχόμενον. καὶ δὴ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν ἀναθεμένους

¹ ἀπεσκόπουν vulg.: ἐπεσκόπουν Γ, Nilén.

A TRUE STORY, II

of the eggs with axes and took from the shell a featherless chick fatter than twenty vultures.

When we had sailed a distance of two hundred furlongs from the nest, great and wonderful signs manifested themselves to us. The gooseneck¹ suddenly grew feathers and started cackling, the sailing-master, Scintharus, who was already bald, became the owner of long hair, and what was strangest of all, the ship's mast budded, branched, and bore fruit at the summit! The fruit consisted of figs and black raisin-grapes, which were not yet ripe.² On seeing this, we were disturbed, as well we might be, and offered a prayer to the gods on account of the strangeness of the manifestation. We had not yet gone five hundred furlongs when we saw a very large, thick forest of pines and cypresses. We thought it was land, but in reality it was a bottomless sea overgrown with rootless trees, in spite of which the trees stood up motionless and straight, as if they were floating. On drawing near and forming an idea of the situation, we were in a quandary what to do, for it was not possible to sail between the trees, they being thick and close together, nor did it seem easy to turn back. Climbing the tallest tree, I looked to see how things were on the other side, and I saw that the forest extended for fifty stades or a little more, and that another ocean lay beyond. So we resolved to lift the

¹ In ancient ships the gooseneck was an ornament on the stem, or (as here) on the stern. Nowadays it is a device for fastening a spar to a mast.

² A parody on the experience of the pirates who carried off Dionysus (*Hymn. Hom.* 7, 38).

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τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ τὴν κόμην τῶν δένδρων—πυκνὴ δὲ ἦν—ὑπερβιβάσαι, εἰ δυναίμεθα, εἰς τὴν θάλατταν τὴν ἐτέραν· καὶ οὕτως ἐποιούμεεν. ἐκδήσαντες γὰρ αὐτὴν κάλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀνελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα μόλις ἀνιμησάμεθα, καὶ θέντες ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων, πετάσαντες τὰ ἱστία καθάπερ ἐν θαλάττῃ ἐπλέομεν τοῦ ἀνέμου προωθούντος ἐπισυρόμενοι· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔπος ἐπεισῆλθέ με—φησὶν γάρ που κακείνος·

Τοῖσιν δ' ὑλήεντα διὰ πλόον ἐρχομένοισιν.

Βιασάμενοι δὲ ὅμως τὴν ὕλην ἀφικόμεθα εἰς 43
τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πάλιν ὁμοίως καθέντες¹ τὴν ναῦν
ἐπλέομεν διὰ καθαροῦ καὶ διανγοῦς ὕδατος, ἄχρι
δὴ ἐπέστημεν χάσματι μεγάλῳ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος
διεστῶτος γεγενημένῳ, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ γῇ πολλάκις
ὀρώμεν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν γενόμενα διαχωρίσματα. ἡ
μὲν οὖν ναὺς καθελόντων ἡμῶν τὰ ἱστία οὐ ῥαδίως
ἔστη παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθοῦσα κατενεχθῆναι. ὑπερ-
κύψαντες δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐωρῶμεν βάθος ὅσον σταδίων
χιλίων μάλα φοβερὸν καὶ παράδοξον· εἰστήκει
γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ ὥσπερ μεμερισμένον· περιβλέποντες
δὲ ὀρώμεν κατὰ δεξιὰ οὐ πάνυ πόρρωθεν γέφυραν
ἐπεξευγμένην ὕδατος συνάπτοντος τὰ πελάγη
κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας θαλάττης εἰς
τὴν ἐτέραν διαρρέοντος. προσελάσαντες οὖν ταῖς
κώπαις κατ' ἐκεῖνο παρεδράμομεν καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς
ἀγωνίας ἐπεράσαμεν οὐποτε προσδοκήσαντες.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἡμας ὑπεδέχετο πέλαγος προσηνὲς 44
καὶ νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη, εὐπρόσιτος, συνοικουμένη·
ἐνέμοντο δὲ αὐτὴν ἄνθρωποι ἄγριοι, Βουκέφαλοι,

¹ καθέντες Cobet : καταθέντες MSS.

A TRUE STORY, II

ship on to the tree-tops, which were thick, and cross over, if we could, to the farther side ; and that is what we did. We made her fast to a large rope, climbed the trees and pulled her up with much ado. Setting her on the branches and spreading our canvas, we sailed just as if we were at sea, carried along by the force of the wind. At that juncture a line of the poet Antimachus came into my head ; he says somewhere or other :

“ And unto them their forest cruise pursuing.”

We managed the wood in spite of everything and reached the water. Lowering the ship again in the same way we sailed through pure, clear water, until we came to a great crevasse made by the water dividing, like the cracks that one often sees in the earth, made by earthquakes. Though we got in the sails, the ship was slow to lose headway and so came near being engulfed. Peering over the edge, we saw a precipice of fully a thousand furlongs, most frightful and unnatural—the water stood there as if cut apart ! But as we looked about us we saw on the right at no great distance a bridge thrown across, which was of water, joining the surfaces of the two seas and flowing from one to the other. Rowing up, therefore, we ran into the stream and by great effort got across, though we thought we should never do it.

Then we came to a smooth sea and an island of no great size that was easily accessible and was inhabited. It was peopled by savages, the Bull-heads, who have horns in the style that the

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κέρατα ἔχοντες, οἶον παρ' ἡμῖν τὸν Μινώταυρον ἀναπλάττουσιν. ἀποβάντες δὲ προήειμεν ὑδρευόμενοι καὶ σιτία ληψόμενοι, εἴ ποθεν δυνηθείημεν· οὐκέτι γὰρ εἶχομεν. καὶ ὕδωρ μὲν αὐτοῦ πλησίον εὔρομεν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐφαίνετο, πλὴν μυκηθμὸς πολὺς οὐ πόρρωθεν ἠκούετο. δόξαντες οὖν ἀγέλην εἶναι βοῶν, κατ' ὀλίγον προχωροῦντες ἐπέστημεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἡμᾶς ἐδίωκον, καὶ τρεῖς μὲν τῶν ἐταίρων λαμβάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν κατεφεύγομεν. εἶτα μέντοι πάντες ὀπλισάμενοι—οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν ἀτιμωρήτους περιδεῖν τοὺς φίλους—ἐμπύπτομεν τοῖς Βουκεφάλοις τὰ κρέα τῶν ἀνηρημένων διαιρουμένοις· φοβήσαντες δὲ πάντας διώκομεν, καὶ κτείνομέν γε ὅσον πεντήκοντα καὶ ζῶντας αὐτῶν δύο λαμβάνομεν, καὶ αὐθις ὀπίσω ἀναστρέφομεν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔχοντες. σιτίον μέντοι οὐδὲν εὔρομεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι παρήνουν ἀποσφάττειν τοὺς εἰλημμένους, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον, ἀλλὰ δήσας ἐφύλαττον αὐτούς, ἄχρι δὲ ἀφίκοντο παρὰ τῶν Βουκεφάλων πρέσβεις ἀπαιτοῦντες ἐπὶ λύτροις τοὺς συνειλημμένους· συνέμεν γὰρ αὐτῶν διανευόντων καὶ γοερὸν τι μυκωμένων ὥσπερ ἰκετευόντων. τὰ λύτρα δὲ ἦν τυροὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἰχθύες ξηροὶ καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ ἔλαφοι τέτταρες, τρεῖς ἐκάστη πόδας ἔχουσα, δύο μὲν τοὺς ὀπίσω, οἱ δὲ πρόσω συνεπεφύκεσαν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀποδόντες τοὺς συνειλημμένους καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπιμεῖναντες ἀνήχθημεν.

Ἦδη δὲ ἰχθύες τε ἡμῖν ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ὄρνεα 45
 παρεπέτετο καὶ ἄλλ' ὅποσα γῆς πλησίον οὔσης
 σημεῖα προφαίνεται. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ ἀνδρας

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Minotaur is represented at home. Landing, we went up country to get water and food if we could, for we no longer had any. Water we found close by, but there was nothing else to be seen, though we heard a great bellowing not far off. Thinking it was a herd of cattle, we went ahead cautiously and came upon the men of whom I spoke. On seeing us, they gave chase, and captured three of my comrades, but the rest of us made our escape to the sea. Then, however, we all armed ourselves—it did not seem right to let our friends go unavenged—and fell on the Bullheads while they were portioning out the flesh of the men they had slain. We put them all to flight and gave chase, killing about fifty and taking two alive: then we turned back to the ship with our prisoners. We found no food, though. The rest therefore urged that the captives be killed; I did not approve of this, however, but put them in irons and kept them under guard until ambassadors came from the Bullheads, asking for them and offering a ransom. We understood them because they made signs and bellowed plaintively as if in entreaty. The ransom was a number of cheeses, dried fish, onions, and four does, each of which had only three feet, for while they had two behind, the forefeet had grown together. In exchange for all this we surrendered the captives, and after stopping there a single day we put to sea.

Already we began to see fish, birds flew by and all the other signs that land was near made their appearance. In a little while we saw men who were

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εἶδομεν καινῷ τῷ τρόπῳ ναυτιλίας χρωμένους· αὐτοὶ γὰρ καὶ ναῦται καὶ νῆες ἦσαν. λέξω δὲ τοῦ πλοῦ τὸν τρόπον· ὑπτιοὶ κείμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ὀρθώσαντες τὰ αἰδοῖα—μεγάλα δὲ φέρουσιν—ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀθόνην πετάσαντες καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν τοὺς ποδῶνας κατέχοντες ἐμπίπτοντος τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔπλεον. ἄλλοι δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἐπὶ φελλῶν καθήμενοι ζεύξαντες δύο δελφίνας ἤλαυνόν τε καὶ ἡνιόχουν· οἱ δὲ προϊόντες ἐπεσύροντο τοὺς φελλούς. οὗτοι ἡμᾶς οὔτε ἡδίκουν οὔτε ἔφενγον, ἀλλ' ἤλαυνον ἀδεῶς τε καὶ εἰρηνικῶς τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ἡμετέρου πλοίου θαυμάζοντες καὶ πάντοθεν περισκοποῦντες.

Ἐσπέρας δὲ ἤδη προσήχθημεν νήσῳ οὐ με- 46
γάλῃ· κατῳκεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν, ὥς ἐνομίζομεν, Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν προϊεμένων· προσήεσαν γὰρ καὶ ἐδεξιοῦντο καὶ ἡσπάζοντο, πάνυ ἐταιρικῶς κεκοσμημένοι καὶ καλά παῖσαι καὶ νεανίδες, ποδήρεις τοὺς χιτῶνας ἐπισυρόμεναι. ἡ μὲν οὖν νήσος ἐκαλεῖτο Καβαλοῦσα,¹ ἡ δὲ πόλις αὕτη Ὑδαμαρδία. λαβοῦσαι δ' οὖν ἡμᾶς αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκάστη πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἀπῆγεν καὶ ξένον ἐποιεῖτο. ἐγὼ δὲ μικρὸν ἀποστὰς—οὐ γὰρ χρηστὰ ἐμαντευόμην—ἀκριβέστερόν τε περιβλέπων ὁρῶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅστ' αὖ καὶ κρανία κείμενα. καὶ τὸ μὲν βοὴν ἰστάναι καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους συγκαλεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄπλα χωρεῖν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον. προχειρισάμενος δὲ τὴν μαλάχην πολλὰ ἡνυχόμην αὐτῇ διαφυγεῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν· μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς ξένης διακονουμένης εἶδον τὰ σκέλη οὐ γυναικός, ἀλλ' ὄνου ὀπλὰς· καὶ δὴ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος

¹ Ἐκβαλοῦσα Γ, Nilén : Καβαλοῦσσα, Schwartz, after Guyet.

A TRUE STORY, II

following a novel mode of sailing, being at once sailors and ships. Let me tell you how they did it : they lay on their backs on the water, hoisted their never-mind-whats, which are sizeable, spread sail on them, held the clews in their hands, and were off and away as soon as the wind struck them. Others came next who sat on corks and had a pair of dolphins hitched up, driving them and guiding them with reins ; in moving ahead, the dolphins drew the corks along. They neither offered us harm nor ran away from us, but drove along fearlessly and peacefully, wondering at the shape of our boat and examining her from all sides.

In the evening we touched at another island of no great size. It was inhabited by women—or so we thought—who spoke Greek, and they came up to us, welcomed and embraced us. They were got up just like courtezans and were all beautiful and young, with tunics that swept on the ground. The island was called Witchery, and the city Watertown.¹ Each of the women took one of us home with her and made him her guest. But I excused myself for a moment—I had misgivings—and on looking about rather carefully, saw many human bones and skulls lying there. To make an outcry, call my comrades together and arm ourselves did not seem best to me, but I fetched out my mallow and prayed to it earnestly that I might escape the ills that beset me. After a little while, as my hostess was waiting on me, I saw that her legs were not a woman's but those of an ass. Then I drew my sword, caught and bound

¹ Both names are uncertain in the Greek.

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συλλαμβάνω τε αὐτὴν καὶ δήσας περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀνέκρινον. ἡ δέ, ἄκουσα μὲν, εἶπεν δὲ ὁμως, αὐτὰς μὲν εἶναι θαλαττίους γυναῖκας Ὀνοσκελέας προσαγορευόμενας, τροφὴν δὲ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας ξένους. ἐπειδὴν γάρ, ἔφη, μεθύσωμεν αὐτούς, συνευνηθεῖσαι κοιμωμένοις ἐπιχειροῦμεν. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐκείνην μὲν αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον δεδεμένην, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος ἐβόων τε καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους συνεκάλουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, τὰ πάντα ἐμήνουν αὐτοῖς καὶ τά τε ὅσῃ ἐδείκνυν καὶ ἦγον ἔσω πρὸς τὴν δεδεμένην· ἡ δὲ αὐτίκα ὕδωρ ἐγένετο καὶ ἀφανὴς ἦν. ὁμως δὲ τὸ ξίφος εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καθήκα πειρώμενος· τὸ δὲ αἷμα ἐγένετο.

Ταχέως οὖν ἐπὶ ναῦν κατελθόντες ἀπεπλεύσαμεν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ὑπηύγαξε, τὴν τε ἡπειρον ἀπεβλέπομεν εἰκάζομεν τε εἶναι τὴν ἀντιπέρασ τῇ ὑφ' ἡμῶν οἰκουμένην κειμένην. προσκυνήσαντες δ' οὖν καὶ προσευξάμενοι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐσκοποῦμεν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει ἐπιβάσιν μόνον αὐθις ὀπίσω ἀναστρέφειν, τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν πλοῖον αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν, ἀνελθόντας δὲ εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν πειραθῆναι τῶν ἐνοικούντων. ἐν ὅσῃ δὲ ταῦτα ἐλογιζόμεθα, χειμῶν σφοδρὸς ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ προσαράξας τὸ σκάφος τῷ αἰγιαλῷ διέλυσεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ μόλις ἐξενηξάμεθα τὰ ὅπλα ἕκαστος καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο οἶός τε ἦν ἀρπασάμενοι.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ μέχρι τῆς ἐτέρας γῆς συνενεχθέντα μοι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ παρὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἐν

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her and questioned her about the whole thing. Against her will she told me that they were women of the sea, called Asslegs and that they fed on the strangers that visited them. "When we have made them drunk," said she, "we go to bed with them and attack them in their sleep." On hearing this, I left her there tied up, and myself went up to the housetop and cried out and called my comrades together. When they had come, I told them everything, showed them the bones and led them in to the woman who was tied up, but she immediately turned to water and disappeared. Nevertheless I thrust my sword into the water as a test, and the water turned to blood.

With all speed we went back to the ship and sailed away. When the light of day began to show, we saw land and judged it to be the world opposite the one which we inhabit. After doing homage and offering prayer, we took thought for the future. Some of us proposed just to land and then turn back again, others to leave the boat there, go into the interior and see what the inhabitants were like. While we were debating this, a violent storm struck the boat, dashed it ashore and wrecked it, and we ourselves had much trouble in swimming out with our arms and anything else that we could catch up.

Thus far I have told you what happened to me until I reached the other world, first at sea, then

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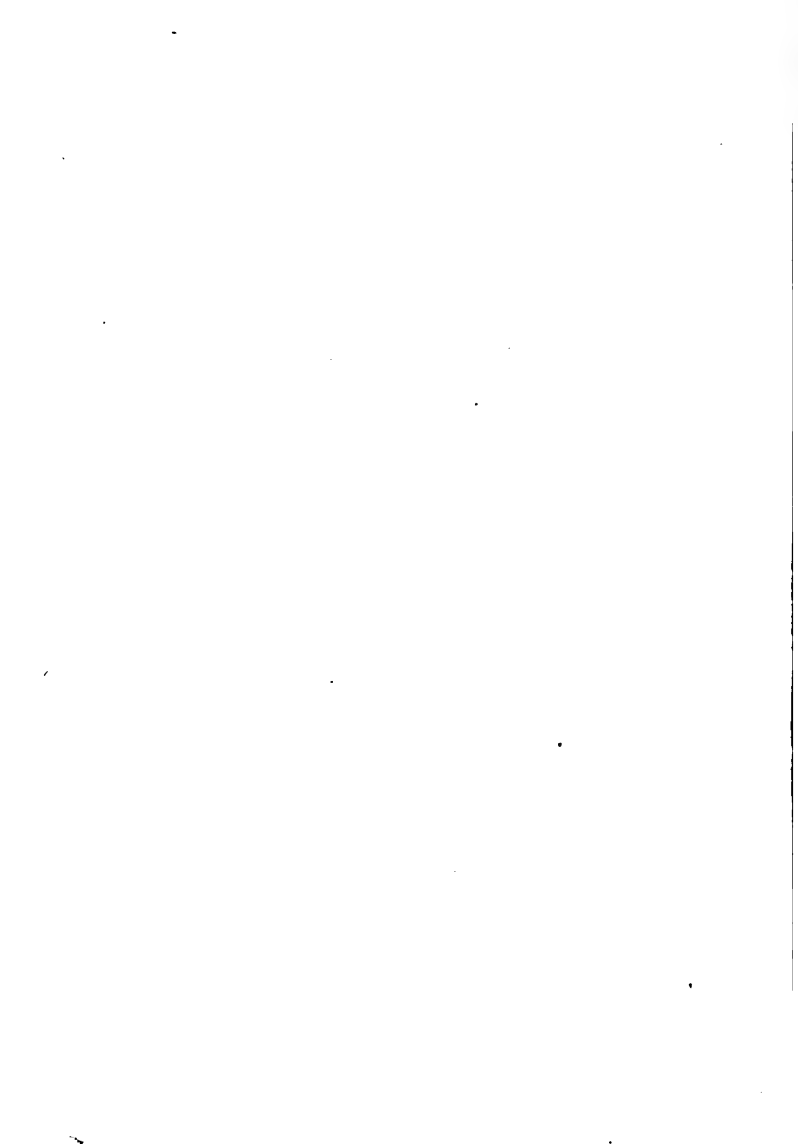
ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ
κήτει καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐξήλθομεν, παρά τε τοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ
τοῖς ὀνείροις καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα παρὰ τοῖς Βουκε-
φάλοις καὶ ταῖς Ὀνοσκελῆαις, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς βίβλοις διηγέσονται.

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during my voyage among the islands in the air, then in the whale, and after we left it, among the heroes and the dreams, and finally among the Bullheads and the Asslegs. What happened in the other world I shall tell you in the succeeding books.¹

¹ The biggest lie of all, as a disgruntled Greek scribe remarks in the margin !



SLANDER

ON NOT BEING QUICK TO PUT FAITH IN IT

This essay is rhetoric pure and simple, and was probably written early in Lucian's career. It is famous because it contains a vivid description of a picture by Apelles, which was again translated into paint by Botticelli in "La Calunnia."

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΑΙΔΙΩΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΤΕΙΝ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΗ

Δεινόν γε ἡ ἄγνοια καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώ- 1
ποις αἰτία, ὥσπερ ἀχλὺν τινα καταχέουσα τῶν
πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀμαυροῦσα καὶ τὸν
ἐκάστου βίον ἐπηλυγάζουσα. ἐν σκότῳ γοῦν
πλανωμένοις πάντες εἰκόκαμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ τυφλοῖς
ὅμοια πέπονθαμεν, τῷ μὲν προσπταίνοντες ἀλόγως,
τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαίνοντες, οὐδὲν δέον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλη-
σίον καὶ παρὰ πόδας οὐχ ὁρῶντες, τὸ δὲ πόρρω
καὶ πάμπλου διεστηκὸς ὡς ἐνοχλοῦν δεδιότες· καὶ
ὅλως ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν πραττομένων οὐ διαλεί-
πομεν τὰ πολλὰ ὀλισθαίνοντες. τοιγάρτοι μυρίας
ἤδη τοῖς τραγωδοδιδασκάλοις ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὰ
δράματα τὸ τοιοῦτο παρέσχηται, τοὺς Λαβδα-
κίδας καὶ τοὺς Πελοπίδας καὶ τὰ τούτοις παρα-
πλήσια· σχεδὸν γὰρ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ
ἀναβαινόντων κακῶν εὖροι τις ἂν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας
καθάπερ ὑπὸ τραγικοῦ τινος δαίμονος κεχορη-
γημένα.

Λέγω δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὲν ἀποβλέπων,
μάλιστα δὲ ἐς τὰς οὐκ ἀληθεῖς κατὰ τῶν συνήθων
καὶ φίλων διαβολάς, ὑφ' ὧν ἤδη καὶ οἴκοι ἀνά-
στατοι γεγόνασι καὶ πόλεις ἄρδην ἀπολώλασι,

SLANDER

ON NOT BEING QUICK TO PUT FAITH IN IT

It is really a terrible thing, is ignorance, a cause of many woes to humanity; for it envelops things in a fog, so to speak, and obscures the truth and overshadows each man's life. Truly, we all resemble people lost in the dark—nay, we are even like blind men. Now we stumble inexcusably, now we lift our feet when there is no need of it; and we do not see what is near and right before us, but fear what is far away and extremely remote as if it blocked our path. In short, in everything we do we are always making plenty of missteps. For this reason the writers of tragedy have found in this universal truth many and many a motive for their dramas—take for example, the house of Labdacus,¹ the house of Pelops and their like. Indeed, most of the troubles that are put on the stage are supplied to the poets, you will find, by ignorance, as though it were a sort of tragic divinity.

What I have in mind more than anything else is slanderous lying about acquaintances and friends, through which families have been rooted out, cities have utterly perished, fathers have been driven mad

¹ King of Thebes, father of Laius.

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πατέρες τε κατὰ παίδων ἐξεμάνησαν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ
κατὰ τῶν ὁμογενῶν καὶ παῖδες κατὰ τῶν γεινα-
μένων καὶ ἔρασταὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐρωμένων· πολλαὶ
δὲ καὶ φιλῖαι συνεκόπησαν καὶ ὅρκοι¹ συνεχύ-
θησαν ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὰς διαβολὰς πιθανότητος.
Ἰν' οὖν ὡς ἤκιστα περιπίπτωμεν αὐταῖς, ὑποδείξαι²
βούλομαι τῷ λόγῳ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τινος γραφῆς
ὁποῖόν τί ἐστιν ἡ διαβολὴ καὶ πόθεν ἄρχεται καὶ
ὅποια ἐργάζεται.

Μᾶλλον δὲ Ἀπελλῆς ὁ Ἐφέσιος πάλαι ταύτην
προὔλαβε τὴν εἰκόνα· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ οὗτος δια-
βληθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὡς μετεσχῆκώς
Θεοδότα τῆς συνωμοσίας ἐν Τύρῳ, — ὁ δὲ
Ἀπελλῆς οὐχ ἑωράκει ποτὲ τὴν Τύρον οὐδὲ τὸν
Θεοδόταν, ὅστις ἦν, ἐγίνωσκεν, ἡ καθ' ὅσον ἤκουε
Πτολεμαίου τινὰ ὑπαρχον εἶναι τὰ κατὰ τὴν
Φοινίκην ἐπιτετραμμένον. ἀλλ' ὅμως τῶν ἀντι-
τέχνων τις Ἀντίφιλος τοῦνομα ὑπὸ φθόνου τῆς
παρὰ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς καὶ ὑπὸ² τῆς κατὰ τὴν
τέχνην ζηλοτυπίας κατεῖπεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν
Πτολεμαῖον ὡς εἶη κεκοινωνηκώς τῶν ὅλων καὶ
ὡς θεάσαιτό τις αὐτὸν ἐν Φοινίκῃ συνεστιώμενον
Θεοδότα καὶ παρ' ὅλον τὸ δεῖπνον πρὸς τὸ οὖς
αὐτῷ κοινολογούμενον, καὶ τέλος ἀπέφηνε τὴν
Τύρου ἀπόστασιν καὶ Πηλουσίου κατάληψιν ἐκ
τῆς Ἀπελλοῦ συμβουλῆς γεγονέναι.

Ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὡς ἂν καὶ τᾶλλα οὐ κάρτα³
φρενήρης τις ὢν, ἀλλ' ἐν κολακείᾳ δεσποτικῇ
τεθραμμένος, οὕτως ἐξεκαύθη καὶ συνεταράχθη

¹ ὅρκοι Cobet : οἵκοι MSS.

² ὑπὸ Herwerden : not in MSS.

³ κάρτα Gesner : πάνυ du Soul : κάρτα πάνυ MSS.

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against their children, brothers against own brothers, children against their parents and lovers against those they love. Many a friendship, too, has been parted and many an oath broken through belief in slander. In order, then, that we may as far as possible avoid being involved in it, I wish to show in words, as if in a painting, what sort of thing slander is, how it begins and what it does.

I should say, however, that Apelles of Ephesus long ago preempted this subject for a picture ; and with good reason, for he himself had been slandered to Ptolemy on the ground that he had taken part with Theodotas in the conspiracy in Tyre, although Apelles had never set eyes on Tyre and did not know who Theodotas was, beyond having heard that he was one of Ptolemy's governors, in charge of affairs in Phoenicia.¹ Nevertheless, one of his rivals named Antiphilus, through envy of his favour at court and professional jealousy, maligned him by telling Ptolemy that he had taken part in the whole enterprise, and that someone had seen him dining with Theodotas in Phoenicia and whispering into his ear all through the meal ; and in the end he declared that the revolt of Tyre and the capture of Pelusium had taken place on the advice of Apelles.

Ptolemy, who in general was not particularly sound of judgment, but had been brought up in the midst of courtly flattery, was so inflamed and upset by this

¹ The story is apocryphal, as Apelles must have been in his grave nearly a hundred years when Theodotus (not Theodotas) betrayed Ptolemy Philopator (219 B.C.).

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πρὸς τῆς παραδόξου ταύτης διαβολῆς, ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν εἰκότων λογισάμενος, μηδ' ὅτι ἀντί-τεχνος ἦν ὁ διαβάλλων μηδ' ὅτι μικρότερος ἢ κατὰ τηλικαύτην προδοσίαν ζωγράφος, καὶ ταῦτα εὖ πεπονθὼς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παρ' ὄντινούν τῶν ὁμοτέχνων τετιμημένος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν εἰ ἐξέπλευσεν Ἀπελλῆς ἐς Τύρον ἐξετάσας, εὐθύς ἐξεμήνιεν¹ καὶ βοῆς ἐνεπίμπλα τὰ βασίλεια τὸν ἀχάριστον κεκραγὼς καὶ τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ συνωμότην. καὶ εἴ γε μὴ τῶν συνειλημμένων τις ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀντιφίλου ἀναισχυντία καὶ τὸν ἄθλιον Ἀπελλῆν κατελεήσας ἔφη μηδεὶν αὐτοῖς κεκοινωνηκέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀπετέμμητο ἂν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ παραπολελαύκει τῶν ἐν Τύρῳ κακῶν οὐδὲν αὐτὸς αἷτιος γεγονῶς.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πτολεμαῖος οὕτω λέγεται αἰσχυ- 4
θῆναι ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ὥστε τὸν μὲν Ἀπελλῆν ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις ἐδωρήσατο, τὸν δὲ Ἀντιφίλον δουλεύειν αὐτῷ παρέδωκεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπελλῆς ὦν παρεκινδύνευσεν μεμνημένος τοιαῦτά τινα εἰκόνι ἡμύνατο τὴν διαβολήν. ἐν δεξιᾷ τις ἀνὴρ κάθηται 5
τὰ ὦτα παμμεγέθη ἔχων μικροῦ δεῖν τοῖς τοῦ Μίδου προσεικότα, τὴν χεῖρα προτείνων πόρρωθεν ἔτι προσιούσῃ τῇ Διαβολῇ. περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐστᾶσι δύο γυναῖκες, Ἄγνοιά μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Ὑπόληψις· ἐτέρωθεν δὲ προσέρχεται ἡ Διαβολή, γύναιον ἐς ὑπερβολὴν πάγκαλον, ὑπόθερμον δὲ καὶ παρακεκινημένον, οἷον δὴ τὴν λύτταν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν δεικνύουσα, τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ δᾶδα καιομένην ἔχουσα, τῇ ἐτέρᾳ δὲ νεανίαν τινὰ τῶν τριχῶν σύρουσα τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγοντα

¹ ἐξεμήνιεν A.M.H. ; ἔαδε μηνίειν MSS.

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surprising charge that he did not take into account any of the probabilities, not considering either that the accuser was a rival or that a painter was too insignificant a person for so great a piece of treason—a painter, too, who had been well treated by him and honoured above any of his fellow-craftsmen. Indeed, he did not even enquire whether Apelles had gone to Tyre at all. On the contrary, he at once began to rave and filled the palace with noise, shouting "The ingrate," "The plotter," and "The conspirator." And if one of his fellow-prisoners, who was indignant at the impudence of Antiphilus and felt sorry for poor Apelles, had not said that the man had not taken any part whatever in the affair, he would have had his head cut off, and so would have shared the consequences of the troubles in Tyre without being himself to blame for them in any way.

Ptolemy is said to have been so ashamed of the affair that he presented Apelles with a hundred talents and gave him Antiphilus for his slave. Apelles, for his part, mindful of the risk that he had run, hit back at slander in a painting. On the right of it sits a man with very large ears, almost like those of Midas, extending his hand to Slander while she is still at some distance from him. Near him, on one side, stand two women—Ignorance, I think, and Suspicion. On the other side, Slander is coming up, a woman beautiful beyond measure, but full of passion and excitement, evincing as she does fury and wrath by carrying in her left hand a blazing torch and with the other dragging by the hair a young man who stretches out his hands to heaven

εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ μαρτυρόμενον τοὺς θεούς. ἡγείται δὲ ἀνὴρ ὠχρὸς καὶ ἄμορφος, ὃξὺ δεδορκῶς καὶ ἔοικῶς τοῖς ἐκ νόσου μακρᾶς κατεσκληκόσι. τοῦτον οὖν εἶναι τὸν Φθόνον ἂν τις εἰκάσειε. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄλλαι τινὲς δύο παρομαρτοῦσι προτρέπουσai καὶ περιστέλλουσai καὶ κατακοσμοῦσαι τὴν Διαβολήν. ὥς δέ μοι καὶ ταύτας ἐμήνυσεν ὁ περιγηγῆτης τῆς εἰκόνας, ἡ μὲν τις Ἐπιβουλή¹ ἦν, ἡ δὲ Ἀπάτη. κατόπιν δὲ ἠκολούθει πάνυ πενθικῶς τις ἔσκευασμένη, μελανείμων καὶ κατεσπα-
ραγμένη, Μετάνοια, οἶμαι,² αὕτη ἐλέγετο· ἐπεστρέφετο γοῦν εἰς τοῦπίσω δακρύουσα καὶ μετ' αἰδούς πάνυ τὴν Ἀλήθειαν προσιοῦσαν ὑπέβλεπεν.

Οὕτως μὲν Ἀπελλῆς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κίνδυνον ἐπὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἐμμήσατο. φέρε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς, εἰ 6
δοκεῖ, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἐφεσίου ζωγράφου τέχνην διέλθωμεν τὰ προσόντα τῇ διαβολῇ, πρότερόν γε ὄρω τινὲ περιγράψαντες αὐτήν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἡμῖν ἡ εἰκὼν γένοιτο φανερωτέρα. ἔστι τοίνυν διαβολὴ κατηγορία τις ἐξ ἐρημίας γινομένη, τὸν κατηγορούμενον λεληθυῖα, ἐκ τοῦ μονομεροῦς ἀναντιλέκτως πεπιστευμένη. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ ὑπό-
θεσις τοῦ λόγου. τριῶν δ' ὄντων προσώπων, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς κωμῳδίαις, τοῦ διαβάλλοντος καὶ τοῦ διαβαλλομένου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς δὴ ἡ διαβολὴ γίνε-
ται, καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπήσωμεν οἷα εἰκὸς εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα. 7

Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ, εἰ δοκεῖ, παραγάγωμεν τὸν πρωταγωνιστὴν τοῦ δράματος, λέγω δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν τῆς διαβολῆς. οὗτος δὲ δὴ ὥς μὲν οὐκ

¹ τις Ἐπιβουλή Burmeister : Ἐπιβουλή τις MSS.

² οἶμαι Jacobs : καὶ MSS.

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and calls the gods to witness his innocence. She is conducted by a pale ugly man who has a piercing eye and looks as if he had wasted away in long illness; he may be supposed to be Envy. Besides, there are two women in attendance on Slander, egging her on, tiring her and tricking her out. According to the interpretation of them given me by the guide to the picture, one was Treachery and the other Deceit. They were followed by a woman dressed in deep mourning, with black clothes all in tatters—Repentance, I think, her name was. At all events, she was turning back with tears in her eyes and casting a stealthy glance, full of shame, at Truth, who was approaching.

That is the way in which Apelles represented in the painting his own hairbreadth escape. Come, suppose we too, if you like, following the lead of the Ephesian artist, portray the characteristics of slander, after first sketching it in outline: for in that way our picture will perhaps come out more clearly. Slander, then, is a clandestine accusation, made without the cognizance of the accused and sustained by the uncontradicted assertion of one side. This is the subject of my lecture, and since there are three leading characters in slander as in comedy—the slanderer, the slandered person, and the hearer of the slander,—let us consider what is likely to happen in the case of each of them.¹

In the first place, if you like, let us bring on the star of the play, I mean the author of the slander. That he is not a good man admits of no doubt, I am

¹ This partition, derived from Herodotus (7, 10), is not at all strictly followed by Lucian in developing his theme.

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ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπός ἐστι, πᾶσιν οἶμαι γινώριμον· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἀγαθὸς κακῶν αἷτιος γένοιτο τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀφ' ὧν εὖ ποιοῦσιν αὐτοὶ τοὺς φίλους, οὐκ ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικούντες αἰτιῶνται καὶ μισεῖσθαι παρασκευάζουσιν, εὐδοκίμειν, δόξαν εὐνοίας προσλαβόντες.

Ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς ἄδικος ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ παράνομός 8
ἐστι καὶ ἀσεβής καὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις ἐπιζήμιος, ῥάδιον καταμαθεῖν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε τὴν μὲν ἰσότητα ἐν ἅπαντι καὶ τὸ μηδὲν πλεονδικοισύνῃς ἔργα εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἄνισόν τε καὶ πλεονεκτικὸν ἀδικίας; ὁ δὲ τῇ διαβολῇ κατὰ τῶν ἀπόντων λάθρα χρώμενος πῶς οὐ πλεονέκτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν ἀκροατὴν σφετεριζόμενος καὶ προκαταλαμβάνων αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἀποφράττων καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ παντελῶς ἄβατα κατασκευάζων αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῆς διαβολῆς προεμπεπλησμένα; ἐσχάτης ἀδικίας τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὡς φαῖεν ἂν καὶ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν νομοθετῶν, οἷον ὁ Σόλων καὶ ὁ Δράκων; ἔνορκον ποιησάμενοι τοῖς δικασταῖς τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἴσην τοῖς κρινόμενοις ἀπονέμειν, ἄχρι ἂν ὁ τοῦ δευτέρου λόγος παρατεθεῖς θατέρου χείρων ἢ ἀμείνων φανῇ· πρὶν δέ γε ἀντεξετάσαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ, παντελῶς ἀσεβῇ καὶ ἀνόσιον ἡγήσαντο ἔσεσθαι τὴν κρίσιν. καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀγανακτῇσαι τοὺς θεοὺς εἴποιμεν, εἰ τῷ κατηγορῶ μετ' ἀδείας ἃ θέλει λέγειν ἐπιτρέπομεν, ἀποφράξαντες δὲ τῷ κατηγορουμένῳ τὰ ὦτα ἢ τῷ στόματι σιωπῶντος¹ καταψηφίζοιμεθα τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ

¹ Corrupt, and not yet satisfactorily emended. τὸ στόμα σιωπῶντος Halm.

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sure, because no good man would make trouble for his neighbour. On the contrary, it is characteristic of good men to win renown and gain a reputation for kind-heartedness by doing good to their friends, not by accusing others wrongfully and getting them hated.

Furthermore, that such a man is unjust, lawless, impious and harmful to his associates is easy to see. Who will not admit that fairness in everything and unselfishness are due to justice, unfairness and selfishness to injustice? But when a man plies slander in secret against people who are absent, is he not selfish, inasmuch as he completely appropriates his hearer by getting his ear first, stopping it up and making it altogether impervious to the defence because it has been previously filled with slander? Such conduct is indeed the height of injustice, and the best of the lawgivers, Solon and Draco, for example, would say so, too; for they put the jurors on oath to hear both sides alike and to divide their goodwill equally between the litigants until such time as the plea of the defendant, after comparison with the other, shall disclose itself to be better or worse. To pass judgment before weighing the defence against the complaint would, they thought, be altogether impious and irreligious. In truth, we may say that the very gods would be angry if we should permit the plaintiff to say his say unhampered, but should stop our ears to the defendant or silence him,¹ and then condemn him,

¹ The Greek is here corrupt. The translation merely gives the probable sense of the passage.

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κεχειρωμένοι. ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ νόμιμον καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τὸν δικαστικὸν φαίη τις ἂν γίγνεσθαι τὰς διαβολάς. εἰ δέ τῃ μὴ ἀξιόπιστοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ νομοθέται παραινοῦντες οὕτω δικαίας καὶ ἀμερεῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κρίσεις, ποιητὴν μοι δοκῶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐπάγειν τῇ λόγῳ εὖ μάλα περὶ τούτων ἀποφηνάμενον, μᾶλλον δὲ νομοθετήσαντα. φησὶ δέ,

μήτε δίκην δικάσης, πρὶν ἄμφω μῦθον ἀκούσης. ἡπίστατο γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ οὗτος ὡς πολλῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ βίῃ ἀδικημάτων οὐδὲν ἂν τις εὖροι χεῖρον οὐδὲ ἀδικώτερον ἢ ἀκρίτους τινὰς καὶ ἀμοίρους λόγων καταδεδικάσθαι· ὅπερ ἐξ ἅπαντος ὁ διαβάλλων ἐπιχειρεῖ ποιεῖν ἄκριτον ὑπάγων τὸν διαβαλλόμενον τῇ τοῦ ἀκούοντος ὀργῇ καὶ τὴν ἀπολογία τῇ λαθραίῃ τῆς κατηγορίας παραιρούμενος.

Καὶ γὰρ ἀπαρρησίαστος καὶ δειλὸς ἅπας ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν ἐς τοῦμφανὲς ἄγων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ λοχῶντες ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ποθεν τοξεύων, ὡς μηδὲ ἀντιτάξασθαι δυνατόν εἶναι μηδὲ ἀνταγωνίσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ πολέμου διαφθείρεσθαι, ὃ μέγιστόν ἐστι σημεῖον τοῦ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λέγειν. ἐπεὶ εἴ τις γε τάληθῇ κατηγοροῦντι ἑαυτῷ συνεπίσταται, οὗτος, οἶμαι, καὶ εἰς τὸ φανερόν ἐλέγχει καὶ διευθύνει καὶ ἀντεξετάζει τῇ λόγῳ, ὥσπερ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς νικᾷν δυνάμενος ἐνέδρα ποτὲ καὶ ἀπάτη χρήσαιτο κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

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conquered by the first plea. It may be said, then, that slander does not accord with what is just and legal, and what the jurors swear to do. But if anybody thinks that the lawgivers, who recommend that verdicts be so just and impartial, are not good authority, I shall cite the best of poets in support of my contention. He makes a very admirable pronouncement—indeed, lays down a law—on this point, saying :¹

“Nor give your verdict ere both sides you hear.”

He knew, I suppose, like everyone else, that though there are many unjust things in the world, nothing worse or more unjust can be found than for men to have been condemned untried and unheard. But this is just what the slanderer tries his best to accomplish, exposing the slandered person untried to the anger of the hearer and precluding defence by the secrecy of his accusation.

Of course, all such men are also disingenuous and cowardly; they do nothing in the open, but shoot from some hiding-place or other, like soldiers in ambush, so that it is impossible either to face them or to fight them, but a man must let himself be slain in helplessness and in ignorance of the character of the war. And this is the surest proof that there is no truth in the stories of slanderers; for if a man is conscious that he is making a true charge, that man, I take it, accuses the other in public, brings him to book and pits himself against him in argument. No soldier who can win in fair fight makes use of ambushes and tricks against the enemy.

¹ Though this verse was frequently quoted in antiquity, its authorship was unknown even then, and it was variously, attributed to Phocylides, Hesiod, and Pittheus. See Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii, p. 93.

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Ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις τοὺς τοιούτους μάλιστα ἐν τε ¹
 βασιλέων αὐλαῖς καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ
 δυναστευόντων φιλίας εὐδοκιμούντας, ἐνθα πολὺς
 μὲν ὁ φθόνος, μυρίαὶ δὲ ὑπόνοιαι, πύμπολλαι δὲ
 κολακειῶν καὶ διαβολῶν ὑποθέσεις· ὅπου γὰρ αἰεὶ
 μείζους ἐλπίδες, ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ φθόνοι χαλεπώ-
 τεροι καὶ τὰ μίση ἐπισφαλέστερα καὶ αἱ ζηλοτυ-
 πίαὶ κακοτεχνέστεραι. πάντες οὖν ἀλλήλους ὅξυ
 δεδόρκασι καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ μονομαχοῦντες ἐπιτηροῦσιν
 εἴ πού τι γυμνωθὲν μέρος θεάσαιντο τοῦ σώματος·
 καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἕκαστος εἶναι βουλόμενος παρω-
 θεῖται καὶ παραγκωνίζεται τὸν πλησίον καὶ τὸν
 πρὸ αὐτοῦ, εἰ δύναιτο, ὑποσπᾷ καὶ ὑποσκελίζει.
 ἐνθα ὁ μὲν χρηστὸς ἀτεχνῶς εὐθὺς ἀνατέτραπται
 καὶ παρασέσυρται καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀτίμως
 ἐξέωσται, ὁ δὲ κολακευτικώτερος καὶ πρὸς τὰς
 τοιαύτας κακοηθείας πιθανώτερος εὐδοκιμεῖ· καὶ
 ὅλως ὁ ¹ φθᾶσας κρατεῖ· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ὀμήρου πάνν
 ἐπαλήθεύουσιν, ὅτι τοι

ξυνὸς Ἐννάλιος καὶ τὸν κτανέοντα κατέκτα.

τοιγαροῦν ὥς οὐ περὶ μικρῶν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὄντος
 ποικίλας κατ' ἀλλήλων ὁδοὺς ἐπινοοῦσιν, ὧν
 ταχίστη καὶ ἐπισφαλεστάτη ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς διαβολῆς,
 τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ φθόνου ἢ μίσους εὐέλπιδα ²
 λαμβάνουσα, οἰκτρότερα δὲ καὶ τραγικὰ ἐπάγουσα
 τὰ τέλη καὶ πολλῶν συμφορῶν ἀνάπλεα.

Οὐ μέντοι μικρὸν οὐδὲ ἀπλοῦν ἐστὶ τοῦτο, ὥς ¹
 ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι, ἀλλὰ πολλῆς μὲν τέχνης, οὐκ
 ὀλίγης δὲ ἀγχινοίας, ἀκριβοῦς δέ τινος ἐπιμελείας

¹ ὁ (not in best MSS.) is necessary to the sense.

² εὐέλπιδα Herwerden : εὐέλπιδος MSS.

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For the most part, such men may be seen enjoying high favour in the courts of kings and among the friends of governors and princes, where envy is great, suspicions are countless, and occasions for flattery and slander are frequent. For where hope runs ever high, there envy is more bitter, hate more dangerous, and rivalry more cunning. All eye one another sharply and keep watch like gladiators to detect some part of the body exposed. Everyone, wishing to be first himself, shoves or elbows his neighbour out of his way and, if he can, slyly pulls down or trips up the man ahead. In this way a good man is simply upset and thrown at the start, and finally thrust off the course in disgrace, while one who is better versed in flattery and cleverer at such unfair practices wins. In a word, it is "devil take the hindmost!" ; for they quite confirm Homer's saying :

"Impartial war adds slayer to the slain."¹

So, as their conflict is for no small stake, they think out all sorts of ways to get at each other, of which the quickest, though most perilous, road is slander, which has a hopeful beginning in envy or hatred, but leads to a sorry, tragic ending, beset with many accidents.

Yet this is not an insignificant or a simple thing, as one might suppose ; it requires much skill, no little shrewdness, and some degree of close study.

¹ *Iliad* 18, 309.

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δεόμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα ἔβλαπτεν ἢ διαβολή, εἰ μὴ πιθανόν τινα τρόπον ἐγίνετο· οὐδ' ἂν κατίσχυε τὴν πάντων ἰσχυροτέραν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ μὴ πολὺ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν καὶ πιθανὸν καὶ μυρία ἄλλα παρεσκεύαστο κατὰ τῶν ἀκούοντων.

Διαβάλλεται μὲν οὖν ὥς τὸ πολὺ μάλιστα ὁ 12
τιμώμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις
αὐτοῦ ἐπίφθονος· ἅπαντες γὰρ τῷδ' ἐπιτοξάζον-
ται καθάπερ τι κώλυμα καὶ ἐμπόδιον προορώμενοι,
καὶ ἕκαστος οἶεται πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἔσεσθαι τὸν
κορυφαῖον ἐκείνον ἐκπολιορκήσας καὶ τῆς φιλίας
ἀποσκευασάμενος. οἷόν τι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς γυμνικοῖς
ἀγῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν δρομέων γίνεται· κακεῖ γὰρ ὁ
μὲν ἀγαθὸς δρομεὺς τῆς ὑσπληγγος εὐθύς κατα-
πεσούσης μόνον τοῦ πρόσω ἐφίεμενος καὶ τὴν
διάνοιαν ἀποτείνας πρὸς τὸ τέρμα καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ
τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἔχων τὸν¹ πλησίον οὐδὲν
κακουργεῖ οὐδέ τι τῶν² κατὰ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς
πολυπραγμονεῖ, ὁ δὲ κακὸς ἐκείνος καὶ ἀναθλος
ἀνταγωνιστῆς ἀπογνοὺς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τάχους ἐλπίδα
ἐπὶ τὴν κακοτεχνίαν ἐτράπετο, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον
ἐξ ἅπαντος σκοπεῖ, ὅπως τὸν τρέχοντα ἐπισχῶν
ἢ ἐμποδίσας ἐπιστομειῖ, ὥς, εἰ τούτου διαμάρτοι,
οὐκ ἂν ποτε νικῆσαι δυνάμενος. ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις
καὶ ταῖς φιλίαις τῶν εὐδαιμόνων τούτων γίνεται·
ὁ γὰρ προέχων αὐτίκα ἐπιβουλεύεται καὶ ἀφύλακ-
τος ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεὶς τῶν δυσμενῶν ἀνηρπάσθη, οἱ
δὲ ἀγαπῶνται καὶ φίλοι δοκοῦσιν ἐξ ὧν ἄλλους
βλάπτειν ἔδοξαν.

Τό τε ἀξιόπιστον τῆς διαβολῆς οὐχ ὥς ἔτυχεν 13

¹ τὸν Halm : τῷ MSS.

² τῶν Capps : τοῦ MSS.

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For slander would not do so much harm if it were not set afoot in a plausible way, and it would not prevail over truth, that is stronger than all else, if it did not assume a high degree of attractiveness and plausibility and a thousand things beside to disarm its hearers.

Generally speaking, slander is most often directed against a man who is in favour and on this account is viewed with envy by those he has put behind him. They all direct their shafts at him, regarding him as a hindrance and a stumbling-block, and each one expects to be first himself when he has routed his chief and ousted him from favour. Something of the same sort happens in the athletic games, in foot-races. A good runner from the moment that the barrier falls¹ thinks only of getting forward, sets his mind on the finish and counts on his legs to win for him; he therefore does not molest the man next to him in any way or trouble himself at all about the contestants. But an inferior, unsportsmanlike competitor, abandoning all hope based on his speed, resorts to crooked work, and the only thing in the world he thinks of is cutting off the runner by holding or tripping him, with the idea that if he should fail in this he would never be able to win. So it is with the friendships of the mighty. The man in the lead is forthwith the object of plots, and if caught off his guard in the midst of his foes, he is made away with, while they are cherished and are thought friendly because of the harm they appeared to be doing to others.

As for the verisimilitude of their slander, calum-

¹ Races were started in antiquity by the dropping of a rope or bar.

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ἐπινοοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἔργον δεδοικόσι τι προσάψαι ἀπώδον ἢ καὶ ἀλλότριον. ὥς γοῦν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὰ προσόντα τῷ διαβαλλομένῳ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μεταβάλλοντες οὐκ ἀπιθάνους πρῶνται τὰς κατηγορίας, οἷον τὸν μὲν ἰατρὸν διαβάλλουσιν ὥς φαρμακέα, τὸν πλούσιον δὲ ὥς τύραννον, τὸν τυραννικὸν δὲ ὥς προδοτικόν.

Ἐνίστε μέντοι καὶ ὁ ἀκροώμενος αὐτὸς ὑποβάλλει τῆς διαβολῆς τὰς ἀφορμὰς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου τρόπον οἱ κακοήθεις αὐτοὶ ἀρμοζόμενοι εὖστοχοῦσιν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ζηλότυπον αὐτὸν ὄντα ἰδῶσι, Διένευσε, φασί, τῇ γυναικί σου παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ ἀπιδὼν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐστέναξε, καὶ ἡ Στρατονίκη πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐ μάλα ἀηδῶς· καὶ ὅλως ἐρωτικάι τινες καὶ μοιχικαὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν αἱ διαβολαί. ἦν δὲ ποιητικὸς ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα φρονῇ, Μὰ Δί' ἐχλεύασέ σου Φιλόξενος τὰ ἔπη καὶ διέσυρε καὶ ἄμετρα εἶπεν αὐτὰ καὶ κακοσύνθετα. πρὸς δὲ τὸν εὖσεβῆ καὶ φιλόθεον ὥς ἄθεος καὶ ἀνόσιος ὁ φίλος διαβάλλεται καὶ ὥς τὸ θεῖον παρωθούμενος καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἀρνούμενος· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας εὐθύς μύωπι διὰ τοῦ ὧτὸς τυπεῖς διακέκασται ὥς τὸ εἶκος καὶ ἀπέστραπται τὸν φίλον οὐ περιμείνας τὸν ἀκριβῆ ἔλεγχον. ὅλως γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπινοοῦσι καὶ λέγουσιν, ἃ μάλιστα ἴσασιν ἐς ὀργὴν δυνάμενα προκαλέσασθαι τὸν ἀκροώμενον, καὶ ἔνθα τρωτὸς ἐστὶν ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενοι, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τοξεύουσι καὶ ἀκοντίζουσιν ἐς αὐτό, ὥστε τῇ παραυτίκα ὀργῇ τεταραγμένον μηκέτι σχολὴν ἄγειν τῇ ἐξετάσει τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ κἂν θέλῃ τις

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niators are not careless in thinking out that point; all their work centres on it, for they are afraid to put in anything discordant or even irrelevant. For example, they generally make their charges credible by distorting the real attributes of the man they are slandering. Thus they insinuate that a doctor is a poisoner, that a rich man is a would-be monarch, or that a courtier is a traitor.

Sometimes, however, the hearer himself suggests the starting-point for slander, and the knaves attain their end by adapting themselves to his disposition. If they see that he is jealous, they say: "He signed to your wife during dinner and gazed at her and sighed, and Stratonice was not very displeased with him." In short, the charges they make to him are based on passion and illicit love. If he has a bent for poetry and prides himself on it, they say: "No, indeed! Philoxenus made fun of your verses, pulled them to pieces and said that they wouldn't scan and were wretchedly composed." To a pious, godly man the charge is made that his friend is godless and impious, that he rejects God and denies Providence. Thereupon the man, stung in the ear, so to speak, by a gadfly, gets thoroughly angry, as is natural, and turns his back on his friend without awaiting definite proof. In short, they think out and say the sort of thing that they know to be best adapted to provoke the hearer to anger, and as they know the place where each can be wounded, they shoot their arrows and throw their spears at it, so that their hearer, thrown off his balance by sudden anger, will not thereafter be free to get at the truth; indeed, however much a slandered man may want to defend himself, he will not let him do so, because he is

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ἀπολογεῖσθαι, μὴ προσίεσθαι, τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ὡς ἀληθεῖ προκατειλημμένον.

Ἀνυσιμώτατον γὰρ τὸ εἶδος τῆς διαβολῆς τὸ 16
ὑπεναντίον τῆς τοῦ ἀκούοντος ἐπιθυμίας, ὁπότε καὶ
παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐπικληθέντι ἐγένετό
τις ὃς διέβαλλε τὸν Πλατωνικὸν Δημήτριον, ὅτι
ὔδωρ τε πίνει καὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων γυναικεῖα οὐκ
ἐνεδύσατο ἐν τοῖς Διουνυσίοις· καὶ εἴ γε μὴ κληθεὶς
ἔωθεν ἐπὶ τε πάντων ὀρώντων καὶ λαβὼν ταραν-
τινίδιον ἐκυμβάλισε καὶ προσωρχήσατο, ἀπολώλει
ἂν ὡς οὐχ ἡδόμενος τῷ βίῳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ'
ἀντισοφιστῆς ὢν καὶ ἀντίτεχνος τῆς Πτολεμαίου
τρυφῆς.

Παρὰ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μεγίστη ποτὲ πασῶν ἦν 17
διαβολή, εἰ λέγοιτο¹ τις μὴ σέβειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν
τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν Ἡφαιστίων,
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐβουλήθη προσθεῖναι
καὶ τοῦτο τῇ λοιπῇ μεγαλουργίᾳ καὶ θεὸν χειρο-
τονῆσαι τὸν τετελευτηκότα. εὐθὺς οὖν νεῶς τε
ἀνέστησαν αἱ πόλεις καὶ τεμένη καθιδρύετο καὶ
βωμοὶ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ ἑορταὶ τῷ καινῷ τούτῳ
θεῷ ἐπετελοῦντο, καὶ ὁ μέγιστος ὄρκος ἦν ἅπασιν
Ἡφαιστίων. εἰ δέ τις ἢ μειδιάσειε πρὸς τὰ γινό-
μενα ἢ μὴ φαίνοιτο πάννυ εὖσεβῶν, θάνατος
ἐπέκειτο ἢ ζημία. ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ κόλακες
τὴν μεираκιώδη ταύτην τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπιθυμίαν
προσεξέκαιον εὐθὺς καὶ ἀνεζωπύρουν ὀνείρατα
διηγούμενοι τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος, ἐπιφανείας τινὰς
καὶ ἰάματα προσάπτοντες αὐτῷ καὶ μαντείας ἐπι-

¹ ἦν διαβολή, εἰ λέγοιτο A.M.H. : ἂν διαβολὴ λέγοιτο, εἰ
ἔλοιτο MSS.

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prejudiced by the surprising nature of what he has heard, just as if that made it true.

A very effective form of slander is the one that is based on opposition to the hearer's tastes. For instance, in the court of the Ptolemy who was called Dionysus¹ there was once a man who accused Demetrius, the Platonic philosopher, of drinking nothing but water and of being the only person who did not wear women's clothes during the feast of Dionysus. If Demetrius, on being sent for early the next morning, had not drunk wine in view of everybody and had not put on a thin gown and played the cymbals and danced, he would have been put to death for not liking the king's mode of life, and being a critic and an opponent of Ptolemy's luxury.

In the court of Alexander it was once the greatest of all slanderous charges to say that a man did not worship Hephaestion or even make obeisance to him—for after the death of Hephaestion, Alexander for the love he bore him determined to add to his other great feats that of appointing the dead man a god. So the cities at once erected temples; plots of ground were consecrated; altars, sacrifices and feasts were established in honour of this new god, and everybody's strongest oath was "By Hephaestion." If anyone smiled at what went on or failed to seem quite reverent, the penalty prescribed was death. The flatterers, taking hold of this childish passion of Alexander's, at once began to feed it and fan it into flame by telling about dreams of Hephaestion, in that way ascribing to him visitations and cures and accrediting him with prophecies; and at last

¹ Probably Ptolemy Auletes, father of Cleopatra, who styled himself "the new Dionysus."

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φημίζοντες· καὶ τέλος ἔθνον παρέδρω καὶ ἀλεξικακῷ θεῷ. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤδετό τε ἀκούων καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπίστευε καὶ μέγα ἐφρόνει ὡσανεὶ οὐ θεοῦ παῖς ὦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὺς ποιεῖν δυνάμενος. πόσους τοίνυν οἰώμεθα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλων παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς Ἡφαιστίωνος θειότητος, διαβληθέντας ὥς οὐ τιμῶσι τὸν κοινὸν ἀπάντων θεόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξελαθέντας καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως εὐνοίας ἐκπεσόντας; τότε καὶ Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Σάμιος 18 ταξιαρχὼν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τιμώμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ μικροῦ δεῖν συγκαθεύρχθη λέοντι διαβληθεὶς ὅτι δακρύσειε παριῶν τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνος τάφον. ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν βοηθήσαι λέγεται Περδίκκας ἐπομοσάμενος κατὰ πάντων θεῶν καὶ κατὰ Ἡφαιστίωνος, ὅτι δὴ κυνηγετοῦντί οἱ φανέντα ἐναργῆ τὸν θεὸν ἐπισκῆψαι εἰπεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ φείσασθαι Ἀγαθοκλέους· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἀπιστοῦντα οὐδὲ ὡς ἐπὶ νεκρῷ δακρύσαι, ἀλλὰ τῆς πάλαι συνηθείας μνημονεύσαντα.

Ἡ δ' οὖν¹ κολακεία καὶ ἡ διαβολὴ τότε μάλιστα 19 χώραν ἔσχε πρὸς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου πάθος συντιθεμένη· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν πολιορκίᾳ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρημνα καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τοῦ τείχους προσίσσιν οἱ πολέμοι, ἀλλ' ἢ ἂν ἀφύλακτόν τι μέρος ἢ σαθρὸν αἰσθωνται ἢ ταπεινόν, ἐπὶ τοῦτο πάσῃ δυνάμει χωροῦσιν ὡς ῥᾶστα παρεισδύναι καὶ ἐλεῖν δυνάμενοι, οὕτω καὶ οἱ διαβάλλοντες ὅτι ἂν ἀσθενὲς ἴδωσι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὑπόσαθρον καὶ εὐεπίβατον, τούτῳ προσβάλλουσι καὶ προσάγουσι

¹ δ' οὖν A.M.H. : γοῦν MSS.

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they began to sacrifice to him as "Coadjutor" and "Saviour."¹ Alexander liked to hear all this, and at length believed it, and was very proud of himself for being, as he thought, not only the son of a god but also able to make gods. Well, how many of Alexander's friends, do you suppose, reaped the results of Hephaestion's divinity during that period, through being accused of not honouring the universal god, and consequently being banished and deprived of the king's favour? It was then that Agathocles of Samos, one of Alexander's captains whom he esteemed highly, came near being shut up in a lion's den because he was charged with having wept as he went by the tomb of Hephaestion. But Perdiccas is said to have come to his rescue, swearing by all the gods and by Hephaestion to boot that while he was hunting the god had appeared to him in the flesh and had bidden him tell Alexander to spare Agathocles, saying that he had not wept from want of faith or because he thought Hephaestion dead, but only because he had been put in mind of their old-time friendship.

As you see, flattery and slander were most likely to find an opening when they were framed with reference to Alexander's weak point. In a siege the enemy do not attack the high, sheer and secure parts of the wall, but wherever they notice that any portion is unguarded, unsound or low, they move all their forces against that place because they can very easily get in there and take the city. Just so with slanderers: they assail whatever part of the soul they perceive to be weak, unsound and easy of access, bringing their siege-engines to bear on it

¹ In this way they made him out the associate of Apollo.

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τὰς μηχανάς, καὶ τέλος ἐκπολιορκοῦσι μηδενὸς ἀντιταπτομένου μηδὲ τὴν ἔφοδον αἰσθομένου. εἴτ' ἐπειδὰν ἐντὸς ἅπαξ τῶν τειχῶν γένωνται, πυρπολοῦσι πάντα καὶ παίουσι¹ καὶ σφάττουσι καὶ ἐξελαύνουσιν, οἷα εἰκὸς ἀλίσκομένης ψυχῆς καὶ ἐξηνδραπουδισμένης ἔργα εἶναι.

Μηχανήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ ἀκούοντος ἢ 20
τε ἀπάτη καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ ἡ ἐπιτορκία καὶ προσ-
λιπάρησις καὶ ἀναισχυντία καὶ ἄλλα μυρία
ῥαδιουργήματα. ἡ δὲ δὴ μεγίστη πασῶν ἡ κολακεία
ἐστί, συγγενής, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδελφή τις οὔσα τῆς
διαβολῆς. οὐδεὶς γοῦν οὕτω γεννάδας ἐστί καὶ
ἀδαμάντινον τεῖχος τῆς ψυχῆς προβεβλημένος, ὃς
οὐκ ἂν ἐνδοίῃ πρὸς τὰς τῆς κολακείας προσβολάς,
καὶ ταῦτα ὑπορυττούσης καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους
ὑφαιρούσης τῆς διαβολῆς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκτὸς 21
ταῦτα. ἐνδοθεν δὲ πολλαὶ προδοσίαι συναγωνί-
ζονται τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγουσαι καὶ τὰς πύλας
ἀναπετῶσαι καὶ πάντα τρόπον τῇ ἀλώσει τοῦ
ἀκούοντος συμπροθυμούμεναι. πρῶτον μὲν τὸ φιλό-
καινον, ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, καὶ τὸ
ἀψίκορον, ἔπειτα δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὰ παράδοξα τῶν
ἀκουσμάτων ἐπόμενον.² οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅπως ἡδόμεθα
πάντες λαθρηδὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὐς λεγόμενα καὶ
μεστὰ ὑπονοίας ἀκούοντες.³ οἶδα γοῦν τινες οὕτως
ἡδέως γαργαλιζομένους τὰ ὦτα ὑπὸ τῶν διαβολῶν
ὥσπερ τοὺς πτεροῖς κνωμένους.

¹ παίουσι Basle ed. of 1563 : καίουσιν MSS.

² ἐλκόμενον ? A.M.H.

³ Text Du Soul : λαθρηδὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς λεγομένας καὶ μεστὰς ὑπονοίας ἀκούοντες (ἀκοάς) MSS. : καὶ πρὸς τὰς λαθρηδὰ λεγομένας καὶ μεστὰς ὑπονοίας ἀκοάς Jacobitz.

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and finally capturing it, as no one opposes them or notices their assault. Then, when they are once within the walls, they fire everything and smite and slay and banish ; for all these things are likely to happen when the soul is captured and put in bondage.

The engines that they use against the hearer are deceit, lying, perjury, insistence, impudence, and a thousand other unprincipled means ; but the most important of all is flattery, a bosom friend, yes, an own sister to slander. Nobody is so high-minded and has a soul so well protected by walls of adamant that he cannot succumb to the assaults of flattery, especially when he is being undermined and his foundations sapped by slander. All this is on the outside, while on the inside there are many traitors who help the enemy, holding out their hands to him, opening the gates, and in every way furthering the capture of the hearer. First there is fondness for novelty, which is by nature common to all mankind, and ennui also ; and secondly, a tendency to be attracted by startling rumours. Somehow or other we all like to hear stories that are slyly whispered in our ear, and are packed with innuendo : indeed, I know men who get as much pleasure from having their ears titillated with slander as some do from being tickled with feathers.

Ἐπειδὰν τοίνυν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων συμμα- 22
 χούμενοι προσπέσωσι, κατὰ κράτος αἰροῦσιν,
 οἶμαι, καὶ οὐδὲ δυσχερὲς ἡ νίκη γένοιτ' ἂν μηδενὸς
 ἀντιπαραταττομένου μηδὲ ἀμυνομένου τὰς προσ-
 βολάς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀκούοντος ἐκόντος ἑαυτὸν
 ἐνδιδόντος, τοῦ διαβαλλομένου δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν
 ἀγνοοῦντος· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν νυκτὶ πόλεως ἀλούσης
 καθεύδοντες οἱ διαβαλλόμενοι φονεύονται. 23

Καὶ τὸ πάντων οἰκτιστον, ὁ μὲν οὐκ εἰδὼς τὰ
 γεγενημένα προσέρχεται τῷ φίλῳ φαιδρὸς ἅτε
 μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ φαῦλον συνεπιστάμενος καὶ τὰ
 συνήθη λέγει καὶ ποιεῖ, παντὶ τρόπῳ ὁ ἄθλιος
 ἐνὶ δρευμένος· ὁ δὲ ἦν μὲν ἔχῃ τι γενναῖον καὶ
 ἐλεύθερον καὶ παρρησιαστικόν, εὐθύς ἐξέρρηξε τὴν
 ὀργὴν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἐξέχεε, καὶ τέλος τὴν ἀπολο- 24
 γίαν προσιέμενος ἔγνω μάτην κατὰ τοῦ φίλου
 παρωξυμμένος. ἦν δὲ ἀγεννέστερος καὶ ταπεινό-
 τερος, προσίεται μὲν καὶ προσμειδιᾷ τοῖς χείλεσιν
 ἄκροισι, μισεῖ δὲ καὶ λάθρα τοὺς ὀδόντας διαπρίει
 καί, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς φησι, βυσσοδομεῖ τὴν ὀργήν.
 οὐ δὲ ἐγὼ οὐδὲν οἶμαι ἀδικώτερον οὐδὲ δουλοπρε-
 πέστερον, ἐνδακόντα τὸ χεῖλος ὑποτρέφειν τὴν
 χολὴν καὶ τὸ μῖσος ἐν αὐτῷ κατάκλειστον αὔξειν
 ἕτερα μὲν κεύθοντα ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλα δὲ λέγοντα
 καὶ ὑποκρινόμενον ἱλαρῷ καὶ κωμικῷ τῷ προσώπῳ
 μάλα περιπαθῆ τινα καὶ ἰοῦ γέμουσαν τραγῳδίαν.

Μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάσχουσιν, ἐπειδὰν πάλαι
 φίλος ὁ ἐνδιαβάλλων δοκῶν εἶναι τῷ ἐνδιαβαλ-
 λομένῳ ποιῆται ὁμῶς· τότε γὰρ οὐδὲ φωνὴν

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Therefore, when the enemy falls on with all these forces in league with him, he takes the fort by storm, I suppose, and his victory cannot even prove difficult, since nobody mans the walls or tries to repel his attacks. No, the hearer surrenders of his own accord, and the slandered person is not aware of the design upon him: slandered men are murdered in their sleep, just as when a city is captured in the night.

The saddest thing of all is that the slandered man, unaware of all that has taken place, meets his friend cheerfully, not being conscious of any misdeed, and speaks and acts in his usual manner, when he is beset on every side, poor fellow, with lurking foes. The other, if he is noble, gentlemanly, and outspoken, at once lets his anger burst out and vents his wrath, and then at last, on permitting a defence to be made, finds out that he was incensed at his friend for nothing. But if he is ignoble and mean he welcomes him and smiles at him out of the corner of his mouth, while all the time he hates him and secretly grinds his teeth and broods, as the poet says,¹ on his anger. Yet nothing, I think, is more unjust or more contemptible than to bite your lips and nurse your bitterness, to lock your hatred up within yourself and nourish it, thinking one thing in the depths of your heart and saying another, and acting a very eventful tragedy, full of lamentation, with a jovial comedy face.

Men are more liable to act in this way when the slanderer has long seemed to be a friend of the person slandered, and yet does what he does.

¹ Homer; the word is frequent in the *Odyssey* (e.g. 9, 316; 17, 66).

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ἀκούειν ἔτι θέλουσι τῶν διαβαλλομένων ἢ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων, τὸ ἀξιόπιστον τῆς κατηγορίας ἐκ τῆς πάλαι δοκούσης φιλίας προειληφότες, οὐδὲ τοῦτο λογιζόμενοι, ὅτι πολλαὶ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς φιλτάτοις μίσους παραπίπτουσιν αἰτίαι τοὺς ἄλλους λανθάνουσai· καὶ ἐνίοτε οἷς αὐτὸς τις ἔνοχος ἐστί, ταυτὶ φθάσας κατηγορήσῃ τοῦ πλησίον ἐκφυγεῖν οὕτω πειρώμενος τὴν διαβολήν. καὶ ὅλως ἐχθρὸν μὲν οὐδεὶς ἂν τολμήσειε διαβαλεῖν· ἄπιστος γὰρ αὐτόθι ἡ κατηγορία πρόδηλον ἔχουσα τὴν αἰτίαν· τοῖς δοκοῦσι δὲ μάλιστα φίλοις ἐπιχειροῦσι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας εὐνοίαν ἐμφῆναι προαιρούμενοι, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνων συμφέροντι οὐδὲ τῶν οἰκαιοτάτων ἀπέσχοντο.

Εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ μάθωσιν ὕστερον ἀδίκως ²⁵ διαβεβλημένους παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς φίλους, ὅμως ὑπ' αἰσχύνης ὧν ἐπίστευσαν οὐδ' ἔτι προσίεσθαι οὐδὲ προσβλέπειν τολμῶσιν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἡδικομένοι, ὅτι μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἐπέγνωσαν.

Τοιγαροῦν πολλῶν κακῶν ὁ βίος ἐπλήσθη ὑπὸ ²⁶ τῶν οὕτω ῥαδίως καὶ ἀνεξετάστως πεπιστευμένων διαβολῶν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἄντεια

τεθναίνης (φησί), ὧ Προῖτ', ἡ κάκτανε Βελλεροφόντην,

ὅς μ' ἔθελεν φιλότῃ μιγήμεναι οὐκ ἐβελούσῃ αὐτὴ προτέρα ἐπιχειρήσασα καὶ ὑπεροφθεῖσα.

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In that case they are no longer willing even to hear the voice of the men slandered or of those who speak in their behalf, for they assume in advance that the accusation can be relied on because of the apparent friendship of long standing, without even reflecting that many reasons for hatred often arise between the closest friends, of which the rest of the world knows nothing. Now and then, too, a man makes haste to accuse his neighbour of something that he is himself to blame for, trying in this way to escape accusation himself. And in general, nobody would venture to slander an enemy, for in that case his accusation would not inspire belief, as its motive would be patent. No, they attack those men who seem to be their best friends, aiming to show their good will toward their hearers by sacrificing even their nearest and dearest to help them.

There are people who, even if they afterwards learn that their friends have been unjustly accused to them, nevertheless, because they are ashamed of their own credulity, no longer can endure to receive them or look at them, as though they themselves had been wronged merely by finding out that the others were doing no wrong at all!

It follows, then, that life has been filled with troubles in abundance through the slanderous stories that have been believed so readily and so unquestioningly. Anteia says:

“Lord Proetus, kill Bellerophon or die ;
Because he sought to bend me to his will,”¹

when she herself had made the first move and had

¹ Homer, *Iliad* 6, 164.

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καὶ μικροῦ ὁ νεανίας ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὴν Χίμαιραν
 συμπλοκῇ διεφθάρη ἐπιτίμιον σωφροσύνης ὑπο-
 σχὼν καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ξένον αἰδοῦς ὑπὸ μάχλου
 γυναικὸς ἐπιβεβουλευμένος. ἡ δὲ Φαῖδρα, κάκεινῃ
 τὰ ὅμοια κατειποῦσα τοῦ προγόνου, ἐπάρατον
 ἐποίησε τὸν Ἰππόλυτον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
 οὐδέν, ὧ θεοί, οὐδὲν ἀνόσιον εἰργασμένον.

Ναί, φήσκει τις· ἀλλ' ἀξιόπιστός ἐστιν ἐνίοτε 27
 ὁ διαβάλλων ἀνὴρ τά τε ἄλλα δίκαιος καὶ συνετὸς
 εἶναι δοκῶν, καὶ ἐχρῆν προσέχειν αὐτῷ ἅτε μηδὲν
 ἂν τοιοῦτο κακουργήσαντι. ἄρ' οὖν τοῦ Ἀριστεί-
 δου ἔστι τις δικαιοτέρος; ἀλλ' ὅμως κάκεῖνος
 συνέστη ἐπὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ συμπαρώξυνε
 τὸν δῆμον, ἧς, φασίν, ἐκεῖνος πολιτικῆς φιλοτιμίας
 ὑποκεκνισμένος.¹ δίκαιος μὲν γὰρ ὡς πρὸς τοὺς
 ἄλλους Ἀριστείδης, ἄνθρωπος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ
 χολὴν εἶχε, καὶ ἡγάπα τινὰ καὶ ἐμίσει. καὶ εἴ γε 28
 ἀληθὴς ἐστιν ὁ περὶ τοῦ Παλαμήδους λόγος, ὁ
 συνετώτατος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν κὰν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄριστος
 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν καὶ ἐνέδραν ὑπὸ φθόνου φαίνεται
 συντεθεικῶς κατὰ ἀνδρὸς ὁμαίμου καὶ φίλου καὶ
 ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν κίνδυνον ἐκπεπλευκότος· οὕτως ἔμφυ-
 τον ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἡ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτία.
 τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἢ τὸν Σωκράτην λέγοι τὸν ἀδίκως 29
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαβεβλημένον ὡς ἀσεβῆ

¹ ὑποκεκνισμένος MSS. : ὑπο κεκνισμένος Guyet. The construction is correctly explained in the scholia.

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been scorned. So the young man came near getting killed in the encounter with the Chimaera, and was rewarded for his continence and his respect for his host by being plotted against by a wanton. As for Phaedra, she too made a similar charge against her stepson and so brought it about that Hippolytus was cursed by his father¹ when he had done nothing impious—good Heavens, nothing!

“Yes,” somebody will say, “but now and then the man who brings a personal charge deserves credence, because he seems to be just in all other matters and sensible also, and one would have to heed him, as he would never do such a scoundrelly thing as that.” Well, is there anyone more just than Aristides? But even he conspired against Themistocles and had a hand in stirring up the people against him, because, they say, he was secretly pricked by the same political ambition as Themistocles. Aristides was indeed just, in comparison with the rest of the world; but he was a man like anyone else and had spleen and not only loved but hated on occasion. And if the story of Palamedes is true, the most sensible of the Greeks and the best of them in other ways stands convicted of having, through envy, framed a plot and an ambush to trap a kinsman and a friend, who had sailed away from home to front the same peril as he²; so true is it that to err in this direction is inborn in all mankind. Why should I mention Socrates, who was unjustly slandered to the Athenians as an irreligious man and a traitor? or

¹ Theseus: the story is told in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides.

² Odysseus trapped Palamedes by getting a forged letter from Priam hidden in his tent and then pretending to discover it.

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καὶ ἐπίβουλον; ἢ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἢ τὸν Μιλτιάδην, τοὺς μετὰ τηλικαύτας νίκας ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπόπτους γενομένους; μυρία γὰρ τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ σχεδὸν τὰ πλεῖστα ἤδη γνώριμα.

Τί οὖν χρὴ καὶ ποιεῖν τὸν γε νοῦν ἔχοντα 30
ἢ ἀρετῆς ἢ ἀληθείας ἀμφισβητοῦντα; ὅπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Σειρήνων μύθῳ ἠνίξαστο παραπλεῖν κελεύσας τὰς ὀλεθρίους ταύτας τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀποφράττειν τὰ ὦτα καὶ μὴ ἀνέδην αὐτὰ ἀναπεταννύειν τοῖς πάθει προειλημμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσαντα ἀκριβῆ θυρωρὸν τὸν λογισμὸν ἅπασι τοῖς λεγομένοις τὰ μὲν ἄξια προσίεσθαι καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι, τὰ φαῦλα δὲ ἀποκλείειν καὶ ἀπωθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη γελοῖον τῆς μὲν οἰκίας θυρωροὺς καθιστάναι, τὰ 31
ὦτα δὲ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀνεφγμένα εἶναι. ἐπειδὴν τοίνυν τοιαῦτα προσίῃ τις λέγων, αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ χρὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξετάζειν, μήτε ἡλικίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ὀρώντα μήτε τὸν ἄλλον βίον μήτε τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀγχίνοιαν. ὅσῳ γάρ τις πιθανώτερος, τοσούτῳ ἐπιμελεστέρας δεῖται τῆς ἐξετάσεως. οὐ δεῖ τοίνυν πιστεύειν ἀλλοτρίᾳ κρίσει, μᾶλλον δὲ μίσει τοῦ κατηγοροῦντος, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐξέτασιν φυλακτέον τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀποδόντα καὶ τῷ διαβάλλοντι τὸν φθόνον καὶ ἐν φανερῷ ποιησάμενον τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς ἐκατέρου διανοίας, καὶ μισεῖν οὕτω καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν δεδοκιμασμένον. πρὶν δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρώτης διαβολῆς κεκινημένον, Ἡράκλεις, ὥς

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Themistocles and Miltiades, both of whom, after all their victories, came to be suspected of treason against Greece? The instances are countless, and are already for the most part well known.

"Then what should a man do, if he has sense and lays claim to probity or truthfulness?" In my opinion he should do what Homer suggested in his parable of the Sirens. He bids us to sail past these deadly allurements and to stop our ears; not to hold them wide open to men prejudiced by passion, but, setting Reason as a strict doorkeeper over all that is said, to welcome and admit what deserves it, but shut out and drive off what is bad. For surely, it would be ridiculous to have doorkeepers to guard your house, but to leave your ears and your mind wide open. Therefore, when a man comes and tells you a thing of this sort, you must investigate the matter on its own merits, without regarding the years of the speaker or his standing, or his carefulness in what he says; for the more plausible a man is, the closer your investigation should be. You should not, then, put faith in another's judgment, or rather (as you would be doing), in the accuser's want of judgment,¹ but should reserve to yourself the province of investigating the truth, accrediting the slanderer with his envy and conducting an open examination into the sentiments of both men; and you should only hate or love a man after you have put him to the proof. To do so before that time, influenced by the first breath of slander—Heavens! how

¹ Literally, "in the accuser's hatred." To secure something like the word-play in the Greek, the sense had to suffer slightly.

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μειρακιῶδες καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ πάντων οὐχ ἥκιστα
ἄδικον. ἀλλὰ τούτων ἀπάντων αἷτιον, ὅπερ ἐν 32
ἀρχῇ ἔφημεν, ἡ ἄγνοια καὶ τὸ ἐν σκότῳ ποιεῖν
τὸν ἐκάστου τρόπον· ὥς εἴ γε θεῶν τις ἀποκαλύ-
ψειεν ἡμῶν τοὺς βίους, οἷχοιτο ἂν φεύγουσα ἐς τὸ
βάραθρον ἢ διαβολὴ χώραν οὐκ ἔχουσα, ὥς ἂν
πεφωτισμένων τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

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childish, how base and, beyond everything, how unjust! But the cause of this and all the rest of it, as I said in the beginning, is ignorance, and the fact that the real character of each of us is shrouded in darkness. Hence, if some one of the gods would only unveil our lives, Slander would vanish away to limbo, having no place left, since everything would be illumined by Truth.



THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

SIGMA *vs.* TAU, IN THE COURT OF THE SEVEN VOWELS

This mock prosecution, probably not by Lucian, but much later than his time, is based upon the fact that in the Attic dialect many words originally written with double *s* came eventually to be pronounced and written with double *t*, and incidentally mentions words in which *l* has been substituted for *r*; *g* for *k* and *l*; *z*, *x*, and *r* for *s*, and *t* for *d*, *th*, and *z*. It cannot be adequately translated, for we have nothing of the sort in English.

ΔΙΚΗ ΣΤΜΦΩΝΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΓΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ
ΤΟ ΤΑΤ ΤΠΟ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΤΑ ΦΩΝΗΣΙΝ¹

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀριστάρχου Φαληρέως, Πυανε- 1
ψιώνος ἐβδόμη ἰσταμένου, γραφὴν ἔθετο τὸ Σῆγμα
πρὸς τὸ Ταῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ Φωνήεντων βίας καὶ
ὑπαρχόντων ἀρπαγῆς, ἀφηρῆσθαι λέγου πάντων
τῶν ἐν διπλῷ ταῦ ἐκφερομένων.]²

Μέχρι μὲν, ὦ Φωνήεντα δικασταί, ὀλίγα ἡδικοῦ- 2
μην ὑπὸ τουτουὶ τοῦ Ταῦ καταχρωμένου τοῖς
ἐμοῖς καὶ καταίροντος ἔνθα μὴ δεῖ, οὐ βαρέως
ἔφερον τὴν βλάβην καὶ παρήκουον ἔνια τῶν λεγο-
μένων ὑπὸ τῆς μετριότητος, ἣν ἴστε με φυλάσ-
σοντα πρὸς τε ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συλλαβάς·
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤκει πλεονεξίας τε καὶ ἀνο-
μίας,³ ὥστε ἐφ' οἷς ἡσύχασα πολλάκις οὐκ ἀγα-
πῶν, ἀλλ' ⁴ ἤδη καὶ πλείω προσβιάζεται, ἀναγ-
καίως αὐτὸ εὐθύνω νῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἀμφοτέρα
εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν. δέος δὲ οὐ μικρόν μοι ἐπὶ τούτοις⁵
τῆς ἀποθλίψεως ἐπέρχεται τῆς ἐμαντοῦ· τοῖς γὰρ

¹ So in Γ: ΔΙΚΗ ΦΩΝΗΕΝΤΩΝ vulg. ² Wanting in Γ.

³ ἀνομίας Lehmann, Herwerden, Sommerbrodt: ἀνομίας
MSS. ⁴ ἀλλ' K. Schwartz: ἀλλ' (or word omitted) MSS.

⁵ τούτοις Herwerden: τοῖς (τῆς) MSS,

THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

SIGMA *vs.* TAU, IN THE COURT OF THE SEVEN VOWELS

[In the year that Aristarchus of Phalerum was archon, on the seventh day of the month Pyanepsion, Sigma brought suit against Tau before the seven Vowels for assault and robbery, alleging that he had stolen all the words that are pronounced with double tau.]

VOWELS of the jury, as long as the wrongs that I underwent at the hands of this fellow Tau through his misusing my property and establishing himself where he had no business were but slight, I did not take the injury to heart, and I ignored some of the things that I heard because of the equable temper which, as you know, I maintain toward you and the other letters. But now that he has come to such a pitch of self-seeking and lawlessness that, not content with what I have repeatedly let pass in silence, he is trying to wrest still more from me, I am compelled to call him to account before you, who know both sides. Besides all this, I am more than a little afraid of my own ejection; for by making greater and

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προπεπραγμένοις αἰεί τι μείζον προστιθὲν ἄρδην
 με τῆς οἰκείας ἀποθλίψει χώρας, ὥς ὀλίγου δεῖν
 ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντα μηδὲ ἐν γράμμασιν ἀριθμεί-
 σθαι, ἐν ἴσφ δὲ κεῖσθαι τοῦ ψόφου.¹

Δίκαιον οὖν οὐχ ὑμᾶς, οἳ δικάζετε νῦν, ἀλλὰ 3
 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ γράμματα τῆς πείρας ἔχειν τινὰ
 φυλακὴν· εἰ γὰρ ἐξέσται τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀπὸ
 τῆς καθ' αὐτὰ τάξεως ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν βιάζεσθαι καὶ
 τοῦτο ἐπιτρέψετε ὑμεῖς, ὧν χωρὶς οὐδὲν καθόλου
 τι γράφεται, οὐχ ὁρῶ τίνα τρόπον αἱ συντάξεις
 τὰ νόμιμα, ἐφ' οἷς ἐτάχθη τὰ κατ' ἀρχάς, ἔξουσιν.
 ἀλλ' οὔτε ὑμᾶς οἰμαί ποτε ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀμελείας
 τε καὶ παροράσεως ἦξειν, ὥστε ἐπιτρέψαι τινὰ
 μὴ δίκαια, οὔτε, εἰ καθυφήσετε τὸν ἀγῶνα ὑμεῖς,
 ἐμοὶ παραλειπτέον ἐστὶν ἀδικουμένῳ. ὥς εἶθε 4
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνεκόπησαν τότε αἱ τόλμαι εὐθύς
 ἀρξαμένων παρανομεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐπολέμει
 μέχρι νῦν τὸ Λάμβδα τῷ Ῥῶ διαμφισβητοῦν περὶ
 τῆς κισήρεως καὶ κεφαλαιργίας, οὔτε τὸ Γάμμα τῷ
 Κάππα διηγωνίζετο καὶ ἐς χεῖρας μικροῦ δεῖν
 ἦρχετο πολλάκις ἐν τῷ γναφείῳ ὑπὲρ γναφάλλων,
 ἐπέπαυτο δ' ἂν καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λάμβδα μαχόμενον,
 τὸ μόγις ἀφαιρούμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα παρα-
 κλέπτον, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ἂν ἡρέμει συγχύσεως
 ἄρχεσθαι παρανόμον· καλὸν γὰρ ἕκαστον μένειν

¹ ψόφου Γ : φόβου ΩΣ.

THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

greater additions to what he has already done he will altogether eject me from my own estate, so that if I keep quiet I shall scarcely count at all as a letter, and shall be no better than a hiss.

It is fitting, then, that you who are now on the jury and all the other letters, too, should be on your guard against his pernicious activity, for if anyone who wants to may work his way out of his own place into someone else's, and if you Vowels, without whom nothing can be written that means anything, are going to permit this, I do not see how society is to keep the orthodox distinctions of rank which were fixed for it in the beginning. But I do not think you will ever reach such a pitch of negligence and carelessness as to permit anything unjust, and even if you do shirk your duty I cannot overlook my wrongs. If only the others had been thwarted in their audacity long ago, when they first began to be law-breakers! In that case, Lambda would not be at war with Rho, disputing the possession of *pumice-stone* (κίσσηλις—κίσσηρις) and *headaches* (κεφαλαλγία—κεφαλαργία), nor would Gamma be quarrelling with Kappa and again and again almost coming to blows with him at the *fuller's* (γναφεῖον—κναφεῖον) over *pillows* (γνάφαλλα—κνάφαλλα), and he would have been prevented from fighting with Lambda, too, openly stealing from him *with some difficulty* (μόλις—μόγισ) and slyly filching *without any doubt* (μάλιστα—μάγιστα¹); and the rest would also have refrained from beginning illegal confusion. Surely it is best for each of us to stay in the place which belongs to

¹ The word μάλιστα may have been pronounced μάγιστα by the common people at some time or other. I know of no evidence that it was ever so written.

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ἐφ' ἧς τετύχηκε τάξεως· τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαίνειν ἐς ἅ
 μὴ χρὴ λύντός ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον. καὶ ὃ γε πρῶτος 5
 ἡμῖν τοὺς νόμους τούτους διατυπώσας, εἴτε Κάδ-
 μος ὁ νησιώτης εἴτε Παλαμήδης ὁ Ναυπλίου,—
 καὶ Σιμωνίδῃ δὲ ἔνιοι προσάπτουσι τὴν προμή-
 θειαν ταύτην—οὐ τῇ τάξει μόνον, καθ' ἣν αἱ
 προεδρίαι βεβαιοῦνται, διώρισαν, τί πρῶτον
 ἔσται ἢ δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιότητος, ὥς ἕκαστον
 ἡμῶν ἔχει, καὶ δυνάμεις συνεῖδον. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν,
 ὦ δικασταί, τὴν μείζω δεδώκασι τιμὴν, ὅτι καθ'
 αὐτὰ δύνασθε φθέγγεσθαι, ἡμιφώνοις δὲ τὴν
 ἐφεξῆς, ὅτι προσθήκης εἰς τὸ ἀκουσθῆναι δεῖται·
 πασῶν δὲ ἐσχάτην ἐνόμισαν ἔχειν μοῖραν ἑνέα¹
 τῶν πάντων, οἷς οὐδὲ φωνὴ πρόσσεστι καθ' αὐτά.
 τὰ μὲν οὖν φωνήεντα φυλάσσειν ἔοικε τοὺς
 νόμους τούτους.

Τὸ δέ γε Ταῦ τοῦτο, οὐ γὰρ ἔχω χεῖροني αὐτὸ 6
 ὀνομάσαι ῥήματι ἢ ᾧ καλεῖται, ὃ μὰ τοὺς θεούς,
 εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὑμῶν δύο συνῆλθον ἀγαθοὶ καὶ καθή-
 κοντες ὁραθῆναι, τό τε Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ἰ, οὐκ ἂν
 ἠκούσθη μόνον, τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐτόλμησεν ἀδικεῖν
 με πλείω τῶν πώποτε βιασαμένων, ὀνομά-
 των μὲν καὶ ῥημάτων ἀπελάσαν πατρῶων,
 ἐκδιώξαν² δὲ ὁμοῦ συνδέσμων ἅμα καὶ προθέσεων,
 ὥς μηκέτι φέρειν τὴν ἔκτοπον πλεονεξίαν. ὅθεν
 δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τίνων ἀρξάμενον, ὥρα λέγειν.

¹ ἑνέα second Aldine ed., Fritzsche: ἔνια MSS.

² ἀπελάσαν . . . ἐκδιώξαν K Schwartz: ἀπελάσαι . . . ἐκ-
 διώξαι MSS.

THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

him : to go where one has no right is the act of a law-breaker. The man who first framed these laws for us, be he the islander Cadmus¹ or Palamedes of Nauplia (and some attribute this provision to Simonides), did not determine which of us should be first and which second solely by putting us in the order in which our places are now fixed, but they also decided the qualities and powers that each of us has. To you, jurors, they gave the greatest honour, because you can be sounded by yourselves; to the Semivowels they gave the next highest, because they need something put with them before they can be heard; and they prescribed that the last place of all should belong to nine letters which have no sound at all by themselves.² The Vowels should enforce these laws.

But this Tau here (I cannot call him by a worse name than his own), who, as Heaven is my witness, could not have made himself heard unless two of your number, Alpha and Upsilon, stout fellows and good to look on, had come to his aid—this Tau, I say, has had the audacity to injure me beyond all precedent in acts of violence, not only ousting me from my hereditary nouns and verbs, but banishing me likewise from conjunctions and prepositions all at once, so that I cannot stand his monstrous greed any longer. Where and how he began it, you shall now hear.

¹ The story usually ran that Cadmus brought sixteen letters from Phoenicia to Greece, and that four were added to these by Palamedes and four more by Simonides (not the poet, but a physician of Syracuse). Cadmus is here called an islander because some versions of his story made him come from Tyre, not Sidon.

² The Greek "mutes" are nine in number. Sigma, as a semivowel, claims higher rank.

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Ἐπεδήμουν ποτὲ Κυβέλῳ, — τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ πολίχνιον 7
οὐκ ἀηδὲς, ἄποικον, ὡς ἔχει λόγος, Ἀθηναίων —
ἐπηγόμην δὲ καὶ τὸ κράτιστον Ῥῶ, γειτόνων τὸ
βέλτιστον· κατηγόμην δὲ παρὰ κωμωδιῶν τινι
ποιητῇ· Λυσίμαχος ἐκαλεῖτο, Βοιωτίας μὲν, ὡς
ἐφαίνετο, τὸ γένος ἀνέκαθεν, ἀπὸ μέσης δὲ ἀξιῶν
λέγεσθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς· παρὰ τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ξένῳ
τὴν τοῦ Ταῦ τούτου πλεονεξίαν ἐφώρασα· μέχρι
μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγοις ἐπεχείρει, τέτταρα κατατολμῶν
καὶ¹ τετταράκοντα λέγειν, ἔτι δὲ τήμερον καὶ
τὰ ὅμοια ἐπισπώμενον ἴδια ταυτὶ λέγειν, ἀποστε-
ροῦν με τῶν συγγεγενημένων καὶ συντεθραμμένων
γραμμάτων, συνήθειαν ᾧμην² καὶ οἰστὸν ἦν μοι
τὸ ἄκουσμα καὶ οὐ πάνυ τι ἐδακνόμην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.
ὁπότε δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀρξάμενον ἐτόλμησε καττίτε- 8
ρον εἰπεῖν καὶ κάττυμα καὶ πίτταν, εἴτα ἀπερυ-
θρίῃσαν καὶ βασιλίσσαν³ βασίλιτταν ὀνομάζειν,
οὐ μετρίως ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγανακτῶ καὶ πίμπραμαι
δεδιὸς μὴ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ σῦκα τῷ κά τις ὀνομάσῃ.
καὶ μοι πρὸς Διὸς ἀθυμοῦντι καὶ μεμονωμένῳ τῶν
βοηθησόντων σύγγνωτε τῆς δικαίας ὀργῆς· οὐ
γὰρ περὶ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα ἐστὶν ὁ κίνδυνος,

¹ τέτταρα κατατολμῶν καὶ A.M.H., following Halm (τέτταρα καὶ) and the scholia: not in MSS.

² Word-order (and καὶ for μοι after συγγεγενημένων) A.M.H.: τετταράκοντα λέγειν, ἀποστεροῦν με τῶν συγγεγενημένων μοι, συνήθειαν ᾧμην συντεθραμμένων γραμμάτων, ἔτι . . . λέγειν, καὶ οἰστὸν κ.τ.λ. MSS.

³ βασιλίσσαν A.M.H., following K. Schwartz (τὴν β.): not in MSS.

THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

Once I made a visit to Cybelus, which is rather an agreeable little village, settled, the story has it, by Athenians. I took with me sturdy Rho, the best of neighbours, and stopped at the house of a comic poet called Lysimachus, evidently a Boeotian by descent, though he would have it that he came from the heart of Attica.¹ It was at that foreigner's that I detected the encroachments of this fellow Tau. As long as it was but little that he attempted, venturing to mispronounce *four* (τέσσαρα—τέτταρα) and *forty* (τεσσαράκοντα—τετταράκοντα), and also to lay hands on *to-day* (σήμερον—τήμερον), and the like and say they were his own, thus depriving me of my kith and kin among the letters, I thought it was just his way and could put up with what I heard, and was not much annoyed over my losses. But when he went on and ventured to mispronounce *tin* (κασσίτερον—καπίτερον) and *shoe-leather* (κάσσυμα—κάττυμα), and *tar* (πίσσα—πίττα), and then, losing all sense of shame, to miscall *queens* (βασίλισσα—βασίλιττα), I am uncommonly annoyed and hot about all this, for I am afraid that in course of time someone may miscall a *spade*!² Pardon me, in the name of Heaven, for my righteous anger, discouraged as I am and bereft of partisans. I am not risking a trifling, every-day stake, for he is robbing me of acquaintances and companions among the letters. He snatched a *blackbird*, a talkative

¹ Lysimachus is called a Boeotian because to say *s* for *t* was a characteristic of the Boeotian dialect.

² An allusion to the English saying is here substituted for a similar allusion to its Greek equivalent, "to call a fig a fig" (τὰ σῦκα σῦκα ὀνομάζειν).

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀφαιρουμένῳ τῶν συνήθων καὶ συνεσχολακότητων
μοι γραμμάτων.¹ κίσσαν μου, λάλλον ὄρνεον, ἐκ
μέσων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν κόλπων ἀρπάσαν
κίτταν ὠνόμασεν· ἀφείλετο δέ μου φάσσαν ἄμα
νήσσαις τε καὶ κοσσύφοις ἀπαγορεύοντος Ἀρι-
στάρχου· περιέσπασε δὲ καὶ μελισσῶν οὐκ ὀλίγας·
ἐπ' Ἀττικὴν δὲ ἦλθε καὶ ἐκ μέσης αὐτῆς ἀνῆρ-
πασεν ἀνόμως Ὑμησὸν² ὁρώντων ὑμῶν καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων συλλαβῶν. ἀλλὰ τί λέγω ταῦτα; 9
Θεσσαλίας με ἐξέβαλεν ὅλης Θετταλίαν ἀξιούν
λέγειν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀποκέκλεικέ μοι τὴν θάλασσαν
οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν κήποις φεισάμενον σευτλίῳ, ὡς τὸ δὴ
λεγόμενον μηδὲ πᾶσσαλόν μοι καταλιπεῖν.

Ὅτι δὲ ἀνεξίκακόν εἰμι γράμμα, μαρτυρεῖτέ μοι
καὶ αὐτοὶ μηδέποτε ἐγκαλέσαντι τῷ Ζῆτα σμάραγ-
δον ἀποσπάσαντι καὶ πᾶσαν ἀφελομένῳ Σμύρναν,
μηδὲ τῷ Ξὶ πᾶσαν παραβάντι συνθήκην καὶ τὸν
συγγραφέα τῶν τοιούτων ἔχοντι Θουκυδίδην
σύμμαχον· τῷ μὲν γὰρ γείτονί μου Ῥῶ νοσήσαντι
συγγνώμη, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ φυτεύσαντί μου τὰς
μυρρίνας καὶ παίσαντί μέ ποτε ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας
ἐπὶ κόρρῃς. καὶ γὰρ μὲν τοιοῦτον. τὸ δὲ Ταῦ τοῦτο 10
σκοπῶμεν ὡς φύσει βίαιον καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπά.
ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέσχετο γραμμάτων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Δέλτα καὶ τὸ Θῆτα καὶ τὸ Ζῆτα, μικ-
ροῦ δεῖν πάντα ἡδίκησε τὰ στοιχεῖα, αὐτὰ μοι
κάλει τὰ ἀδικηθέντα γράμματα. ἀκούετε, Φωνή-
εντα δικασταί, τοῦ μὲν Δέλτα λέγοντος· ἀφείλετό

¹ γραμμάτων MSS. : χρημάτων du Soul.

² Ὑμησὸν Herwerden : Ὑμητιδὸν MSS.

THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

creature, right out of my bosom, almost, and re-named it (κίσσα—κίττα); he took away my *pheasant* (φάσσα—φάττα) along with my *ducks* (νήσσαι—νήτται) and my *daps* (κόσσυφοι—κόττυφοι), although Aristarchus forbade him; he robbed me of not a few *bees* (μέλισσα—μέλιττα), and he went to Attica and illegally plucked Hymessus (Ύμησσός—Ύμηττός) out of the very heart of her, in full view of yourselves and the other letters. But why mention this? He has turned me out of all Thessaly, wanting it called Thettaly, has swept me from the *sea* (θάλασσα—θάλαττα) and has not even spared me the *beets* (σέυτλια—τεύτλια) in my garden, so that, to quote the proverb, he hasn't even left me a *peg* (πάσσαλος—πάτταλος).

That I am a much-enduring letter, you yourselves can testify, for I never brought Zeta to book for taking my *emerald* (σμάραγδος—ζμάραγδος) and robbing me utterly of Smyrna,¹ nor Xi for overstepping every *treaty* (συνθήκη—ξυνθήκη) with Thucydides the *historian* (συγγραφεύς—ξυγγραφεύς) as his *ally* (σύμμαχος—ξύμμαχος). And when my neighbour Rho was ill I forgave him not only for transplanting my *myrtles* (μυρσίνη—μυρρίνη) into his own garden, but also for cracking my *crown* (κόρση—κόρρη) in a fit of insanity. That is my disposition, but this Tau—just see how bad-natured he is toward the others, too! To show that he has not let the rest of the letters alone, but has injured Delta and Theta and Zeta and almost all the alphabet, please call to the stand the injured parties in person. Listen, Vowels of the jury, to Delta, who says: “He robbed me of

¹ Pronounced, as it is to-day, Zmyrna, but written usually with *z*.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

μου τὴν ἐνδελέχειαν, ἐντελέχειαν ἀξιούν λέγεσθαι παρὰ πάντας τοὺς νόμους· τοῦ Θῆτα δακρύοντος¹ καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰς τρίχας τίλλοντος ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ τῆς κολοκύνθης ἐστερηῆσθαι· τοῦ Ζήτα, τὸ συρίζειν καὶ σαλπίζειν, ὡς μηκέτ' αὐτῷ ἐξεῖναι μηδὲ γρύζειν. τίς ἂν τούτων ἀνάσχοιτο; ἢ τίς ἐξαρκέσειε δίκη πρὸς τὸ πονηρότατον τουτὶ Ταῦ;

Τὸ δὲ ἄρα οὐ τὸ ὁμόφυλον τῶν στοιχείων μόνον 11
ἀδικεῖ γένος, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπειον μεταβέβηκε τουτουὶ τὸν τρόπον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπει γε αὐτοὺς κατ' εὐθὺ φέρεσθαι ταῖς γλώσσαις· μᾶλλον δέ, ὧ δικασταί, μεταξὺ γάρ με πάλιν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα ἀνέμνησε περὶ τῆς γλώσσης, καὶ² ταύτης με τὸ μέρος³ ἀπήλασε καὶ γλώτταν ποιεῖ τὴν γλώσσαν. ὧ γλώσσης ἀληθῶς νόσημα Ταῦ. ἀλλὰ μεταβήσομαι πάλιν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναγορεύσω ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰς αὐτοὺς πλήμμελεῖ· δεσμοῖς γάρ τισι στρεβλοῦν καὶ σπαράττειν αὐτῶν τὴν φωνὴν ἐπιχειρεῖ. καὶ ὁ μὲν τι καλὸν ἰδὼν καλὸν εἰπεῖν αὐτὸ βούλεται, τὸ δὲ παρεισπεσὼν τалὸν εἰπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζει ἐν ἅπασι προεδρίαν ἔχειν ἀξιούν· πάλιν ἕτερος περὶ κλήματος διαλέγεται, τὸ δὲ — τλήμον γάρ ἐστιν ἀληθῶς — τλήμα πεποίηκε τὸ κλήμα. καὶ οὐ μόνον γε τοὺς τυχόντας ἀδικεῖ, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ, ὧ καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν εἷξαί φασι καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως ἐκστήναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιβουλεύει καὶ Κῦρον αὐτὸν ὄντα Τῦρόν τινα ἀπέφηνεν.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὅσον ἐς φωνὴν ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖ· 12

¹ δακρύοντος K. Schwartz: κρούοντος MSS.

² καὶ A.M.H.: ὅτι καὶ MSS.

³ μιὰρὸν Capps.

THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

entelechy, wanting it to be called entelechy against all the laws"; to Theta crying and pulling out the hair of his head because he has had even his *pumpkin* (κολοκύνθη—κολοκύντη) taken away from him, and to Zeta, who has lost his *whistle* (συρίζειν—συρίττειν) and *trumpet* (σαλπίζειν—σαλπίττειν), so that he can't even make a sound (γρύζειν—γρύττειν) any longer. Who could put up with all this, and what punishment could be bad enough for this out-and-out rascal Tau?

Not only does he injure his own kinsfolk of the alphabet, but he has already attacked the human race also; for he does not allow them to talk straight with their tongues. Indeed, jurymen—for speaking of men has suddenly put me in mind of the tongue—he has banished me from this member too, as far as in him lay, and makes *glotta* out of *glossa*. O Tau, thou very plague o' the tongue! But I shall attack him another time and advise men of his sins against them, in trying to fetter their speech, as it were, and to mangle it. A man on seeing something *pretty* (καλόν) wants to call it so, but Tau interferes and makes him say something else (ταλόν),¹ wanting to have precedence in everything. Again, another is talking about a *palm-branch* (κλήμα), but Tau, the very *criminal* (τλήμων), turns the palm-branch into a *crime* (τλήμα). And not only does he injure ordinary people, but even the Great King, in whose honour, they say, even land and sea give place and depart from their own natures—even he is plotted against by Tau, who instead of *Cyrus* makes him out something of a *cheese* (Κῦρος—τυρός).

That is the way he injures mankind as far as their

¹ One would expect a pun here, but *ταλόν* is not in the dictionaries.

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἔργῳ δὲ πῶς; κλάουσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν
τύχην ὀδύρονται καὶ Κάδμῳ καταρῶνται πολ-
λάκις, ὅτι τὸ Ταῦ ἐς τὸ τῶν στοιχείων γένος
παρήγαγε· τῷ γὰρ τούτου σώματί φασι τοὺς
τυράννους ἀκολουθήσαντας καὶ μιμησαμένους
αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα ἔπειτα σχήματι τοιούτῳ ξύλα
τεκτάναντας ἀνθρώπους ἀνασκολοπίζειν ἐπ' αὐτά·
ἀπὸ δὲ¹ τούτου καὶ τῷ τεχνήματι τῷ πονηρῷ τὴν
πονηρὰν ἐπωνυμίαν συνελθεῖν. τούτων οὖν ἀπάν-
των ἕνεκα πόσων θανάτων τὸ Ταῦ ἄξιον εἶναι
νομίζετε; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι δικαίως τοῦτο
μόνον ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ταῦ τιμωρίαν ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ
τῷ σχήματι τῷ αὐτοῦ τὴν δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.²

¹ δὲ A.M.H. : δὴ MSS.

² MSS. add ὃ δὴ σταυρὸς εἶναι ὑπὸ τούτου μὲν ἐδημιουργήθη,
ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὀνομάζεται, excised by Sommerbrodt.

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THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

speech is concerned, but look at the material injury he has done them! Men weep and bewail their lot and curse Cadmus over and over for putting Tau into the alphabet, for they say that their tyrants, following his figure and imitating his build, have fashioned timbers in the same shape and crucify men upon them; and that it is from him that the sorry device gets its sorry name (*stauros*, *cross*). For all this do you not think that Tau deserves to die many times over? As for me, I hold that in all justice we can only punish Tau by making a T of him.¹

¹ *I.e.*, by crucifying him, Greek crosses being usually T-shaped. MSS. add "for the cross owes its existence to Tau, but its name to man"; see critical note.



THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

The sub-title comes from the parallel that Lucian draws (in section 45) between this affair and the wedding breakfast of Peirithous, which ended in a hand-to-hand encounter between the Centaurs and the Lapiths. The piece is thought to be modelled on the *Symposium* of Menippus, the Cynic satirist.

ΣΤΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ Η ΛΑΠΙΘΑΙ

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Ποικίλην, ὦ Λυκῖνε, διατριβὴν φασι γεγενῆσθαι ¹
ὕμιν χθὲς ἐν Ἀρισταινέτου παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ
τινας λόγους φιλοσόφους εἰρήσθαι καὶ ἔριν οὐ
σμικρὰν συστήναι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐψεύδετο
Χαρῖνος, καὶ ἄχρι τραυμάτων προχωρῆσαι τὸ
πρᾶγμα καὶ τέλος αἵματι διαλυθῆναι τὴν συνου-
σίαν.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ πόθεν, ὦ Φίλων, ἠπίστατο Χαρῖνος ταῦτα;
οὐ γὰρ συνεδείπνει μεθ' ἡμῶν.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Διονίκου ἔφη τοῦ ἱατροῦ ἀκοῦσαι. Διόνικος δὲ
καὶ αὐτός, οἶμαι, τῶν συνεδείπνων ἦν.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα· οὐ μὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γε οὐδ' αὐτὸς
ἅπασι παρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ ὄψε μεσουσῆς σχεδὸν
ἤδη τῆς μάχης ἐπέστη ὀλίγον πρὸ τῶν τραυμάτων.
ὥστε θαυμάζω εἴ τι σαφὲς εἰπεῖν ἐδύνατο μὴ
παρακολουθήσας ἐκείνοις, ἀφ' ὧν ἀρξαμένη ἐς τὸ
αἷμα ἐτελεύτησεν αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλονεικία.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Τοιγαροῦν, ὦ Λυκῖνε, καὶ ὁ Χαρῖνος αὐτός, εἰ ²
βουλοίμεθα τάληθῇ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ὅπως ἐπράχθη
ἕκαστα, παρὰ σέ ἡμᾶς ἦκειν ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τὸν

THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

PHILO

THEY say you had all kinds of sport yesterday, Lycinus, at the house of Aristaenetus, at dinner, and that several speeches on philosophy were made, out of which quite a quarrel arose. Unless Charinus was lying, the affair even ended in wounds and the party was finally broken up by the shedding of blood.

LYCINUS

Now how did Charinus know that, Philo? He did not dine with us.

PHILO

He said that Dionicus, the doctor, told him. Dionicus, I suppose, was one of the guests.

LYCINUS

Yes, to be sure ; but even he was not there for all of it, from the very beginning : it was late and the battle was about half over when he came on the scene, a little before the wounds. So I am surprised that he could give a clear account of any of it, as he did not witness what led up to the quarrel that ended in bloodshed.

PHILO

True, Lycinus ; and for that very reason Charinus told us, if we wanted to hear the truth of it and all the details, to come to you, saying that Dionicus

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Διόνικον γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ παρα-
γένεοιτο ἅπασι, σὲ δὲ ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τὰ γεγενη-
μένα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοὺς ἂν ¹ ἀπομνημονεύσαι
ἄτε μὴ παρέργως τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ' ἐν σπουδῇ
ἀκροώμενον. ὥστε οὐκ ἂν φθύνους ἐστιῶν ἡμᾶς
ἡδίστην ταύτην ἐστίασιν, ἧς οὐκ οἶδα τίς ² ἡδίων
ἔμοιγε, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσφ' νήφοντες ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ
ἀναιμωτὶ ἔξω βέλους ἐστιασόμεθα, εἴτε γέροντες
ἐπαρῶνῃσιν τι παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον εἴτε νέοι, εἰπεῖν τε
ὅσα ἤκιστα ἐχρῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου προαχθέντες
καὶ πρᾶξαι.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Νεανικώτερα ἡμᾶς, ὦ Φίλων, ἀξιοῖς ἐκφέρειν ³
ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐπεξιέναι διηγουμέ-
νους πράγματα ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθῃ γενόμενα, δέον
λήθην ποιήσασθαι αὐτῶν καὶ νομίζειν ἐκεῖνα
πάντα θεοῦ ἔργα τοῦ Διονύσου εἶναι, ὃς οὐκ οἶδα εἴ
τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ ὀργίων ἀτέλεστον καὶ ἀβάκχευτον
περιεῖδεν. ὅρα οὖν μὴ κακοήθων τινῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἢ τὸ ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξετάζειν, ἀ καλῶς ἔχει
ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καταλιπόντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.
“μισῶ” γάρ, φησὶ καὶ ὁ ποιητικὸς λόγος,
“μνάμονα συμπόταν.” καὶ οὐδὲ ὁ Διόνικος ὀρθῶς
ἐποίησε πρὸς τὸν Χαρίνον ταῦτα ἐξαγορεύσας καὶ
πολλὴν τὴν ἐωλοκρασίαν κατασκεδάσας ἀνδρῶν
φιλοσόφων. ἐγὼ δέ, ἅπαγε, οὐκ ἂν τι τοιούτου
εἴποιμι.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Θρύπτῃ ταῦτα, ὦ Λυκίνε. ἀλλ' οὔτι γε πρὸς ⁴
ἐμὲ οὕτω ποιεῖν ἐχρῆν, ὃς ἀκριβῶς πολὺ πλέον

¹ ἂν Bekker: not in MSS.

² οὐκ οἶδα τίς Bekker: οὐκ οἶδ' ἂν τις MSS.

THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

himself had said that he was not there for all of it, but that you knew exactly what had happened and could actually recite the speeches, being, as you are, an attentive and not a careless listener to such discussions. So do hurry and give us this most delightful entertainment—for none, I am sure, could be more delightful, at least to me, especially as we shall enjoy a peaceful and bloodless entertainment, without intemperance and out of range of missiles, whether it was old men or young who misconducted themselves at dinner, led on by strong drink to do and say what they should not.

LYCINUS

It was rather a silly affair, Philo, and yet you want me to publish it abroad and tell what happened when heads were turned with wine, when it all should be forgotten and the whole business put down to a god—Dionysus, I mean, who scarcely permits anyone to remain uninitiated in his rites and a stranger to his revels. Don't you think it rather bad form to enquire into such matters minutely? The proper thing is to leave them behind you in the dining-room when you go away. As you know, there is a saying from the poets: "I hate to drink with him that hath a memory."¹ And Dioniscus did not do right, either, to blab it all to Charinus and besprinkle philosophers with the copious dregs of their stale cups. As for me—get out with you! I shan't tell you anything of the kind!

PHILO

That is all put on, Lycinus. But you needn't have acted that way with me, for I know very well that

¹ Author unknown: quoted also by Plutarch (*Prooemium to Quaest. Sympos.*). See also Index to *Corpus Paroemiogr. Gr.*

THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐπιθυμοῦντά σε εἶπειν οἶδα ἢ ἐμὲ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ μοι δοκεῖς, εἰ ἀπορήσεις τῶν ἀκουσομένων, κἂν πρὸς κίονά τινα ἢ πρὸς ἀνδριάντα ἡδέως ἂν προσελθὼν ἐκχέαι πάντα συνείρων ἀμυστί. εἰ γοῦν ἐβελήσω ἀπαλλάττεσθαι νῦν, οὐκ ἑάσεις με ἀνήκοον ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔξει¹ καὶ παρακολογήσεις καὶ δεήσεις. καὶ γὰρ θρύφομαι πρὸς σὲ ἐν τῷ μέρει· καὶ εἴ γε δοκεῖ, ἀπίωμεν ἄλλου αὐτὰ πευσόμενοι, σὺ δὲ μὴ λέγε.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Μηδὲν πρὸς ὀργήν· διηγῆσομαι γάρ, ἐπεὶ περ οὕτως προθυμῇ, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ πρὸς πολλοὺς ἐρεῖς.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἐγὼ ἐπιλέλησμαι Λυκίνου, αὐτὸς σὺ ἄμεινον ποιήσεις αὐτὸ καὶ φθάσεις εἰπὼν ἅπασιν, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ δεήσει. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι πρῶτον εἰπέ, τῷ παιδί τῷ Ζήνωνι ὁ Ἄρισταινετος ἀγόμενος γυναῖκα εἰστία ὑμᾶς; 5

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐξεδίδου αὐτὸς τὴν Κλεανθίδα τῷ Εὐκρίτου τοῦ δανειστικοῦ, τῷ φιλοσοφοῦντι.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Παγκάλῳ νῇ Δία μεираκίῳ, ἀπαλῷ γε μὴν ἔτι καὶ οὐ πάνν καθ' ὥραν γάμων.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἄλλ' οὐκ εἶχεν ἄλλον ἐπιτηδειότερον, οἶμαι. τοῦτον οὖν κόσμion τε εἶναι δοκοῦντα καὶ πρὸς

¹ ἔξει Fritzsche : ξεῖς (ἡξεῖς) MSS.

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you are much more eager to talk than I to listen, and I have an idea that if you had nobody to listen to you, you would enjoy going up to a pillar or a statue and pouring it all out in a stream, without a pause. In fact, if I should wish to go away now, you would not let me go untold, but would hold me and follow me and entreat me. And now I am going to take *my* turn at putting on. (*Turns to another friend.*) If you like, let's go and find out about it from someone else. (*To LYCINUS.*) You may keep your story to yourself!

LYCINUS

Don't get angry! I will tell you, since you are so anxious, but don't you tell a lot of people.

PHILO

If I have not forgotten all I know of you, Lycinus, you will do that better than I can, and you will lose no time in telling everybody, so that I shan't be needed. But first tell me one thing—was it to celebrate the wedding of his son Zeno that Aristaenetus entertained you?

LYCINUS

No, he was marrying his daughter Cleanthis to the son of Eucritus the banker, the lad who is studying philosophy.

PHILO

A very good-looking lad, to be sure; still immature, though, and hardly old enough to be married.

LYCINUS

But he could not find anyone who suited him better, I suppose. As this boy seemed to be mannerly and had taken an interest in philosophy,

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φιλοσοφίαν ὥρμημένον, ἔτι δὲ μόνον ὄντα πλουσίῳ
τῷ Εὐκρίτῳ, προείλετο νυμφίον ἐξ ἀπάντων.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Οὐ μικρὰν λέγεις αἰτίαν τὸ πλουτεῖν τὸν
Εὐκριτον. ἀτὰρ οὖν, ὦ Λυκῖνε, τίνες οἱ δει-
πνοῦντες ἦσαν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τί ἂν σοι λέγοιμι; οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ 6
φιλοσοφίας καὶ λόγων, οὗσπερ ἐθέλεις, οἶμαι,
ἀκοῦσαι μάλιστα, Ζηνόθεμις ἦν ὁ πρεσβύτης ὁ
ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ Δίφιλος ὁ λαβύριν-
θος ἐπὶ κλην, διδάσκαλος οὗτος ὢν τοῦ Ἀρι-
σταινέτου υἱέος τοῦ Ζήνωνος· τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ
περιπάτου Κλεόδημος, οἶσθα τὸν στωμύλον, τὸν
ἐλεγκτικόν, ξίφος αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ κοπίδα
καλοῦσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἐπικούρειος Ἑρμῶν
παρῆν, καὶ εἰσελθόντα γε αὐτὸν εὐθύς ὑπεβλέ-
ποντο οἱ Στωϊκοὶ καὶ ἀπεστρέφοντο καὶ δῆλοι
ἦσαν ὥς τινα πατραλοῖαν καὶ ἐναγῇ μυσαι-
τόμενοι. οὗτοι μὲν αὐτοῦ Ἀρισταινέτου φίλοι
καὶ συνήθεις ὄντες παρεκέκληντο ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καὶ
ξὺν αὐτοῖς ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἰστιαῖος καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ
Διονυσόδωρος. διὰ δὲ τὸν νυμφίον τὸν Χαιρέαν 7
Ἴων ὁ Πλατωνικὸς συνειστιᾶτο διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ
ὢν, σεμνὸς τις ἰδεῖν καὶ θεοπρεπὴς καὶ πολὺ τὸ
κόσμιον ἐπιφαίνων τῷ προσώπῳ· κανόνα γοῦν οἱ
πολλοὶ ὀνομάζουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ὀρθότητα τῆς
γνώμης ἀποβλέποντες. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆλθεν, ὑπεξ-
ανίσταντο πάντες αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδεξιούντο ὥς τινα
τῶν κρειττόνων, καὶ ὅλως θεοῦ ἐπιδημία τὸ
πρᾶγμα ἦν Ἴων ὁ θαυμαστὸς συμπαρών.

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and also as he was the only son of Eucritus, who is rich, he preferred him to all the rest as a husband for his daughter.

PHILO

You give a very good reason in saying that Eucritus is rich. But come, Lycinus, who were the people at dinner?

LYCINUS

Why should I tell you all of them? The philosophers and literary men, whom, I suppose, you are most eager to hear about, were Zenothemis, the old man of the Porch,¹ and along with him Diphilus, whom they call "Labyrinth," tutor of Aristænetus' boy Zeno. From the Walk² there was Cleodemus—you know him, the mouthy, argumentative fellow, whom his pupils call "Sword" and "Cleaver." Hermon the Epicurean was there too, and as he came in the Stoics at once began to glower at him and turn their backs on him; it was clear that they loathed him as they would a parricide or a man under a curse. These men had been asked to dinner as Aristænetus' own friends and associates, and also the grammarian Histiaeus and the rhetorician Dionysodorus. Then, too, on account of Chaereas, the bridegroom, Ion the Platonic philosopher, who is his teacher, shared the feast—a grave and reverend person to look at, with great dignity written on his features. Indeed, most people call him "the ruler," alluding to the straightness of his thinking. When he came in, they all arose in his honour and received him like a supernatural being; in short it was a regular divine visitation, the advent of Ion the marvellous.

¹ The Porch : where Zeno the Stoic used to teach.

² The Walk (*περίπατος*) in the Lyceum, where the Peripatetics had their meeting-place.

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Δέον δὲ ἤδη κατακλίνεσθαι ἀπάντων σχεδὸν 8
 παρόντων, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἰσιόντων αἱ γυναῖκες ὅλον
 τὸν κλιντήρα ἐκείνον ἐπέλαβον, οὐκ ὀλίγαι οὖσαι,
 καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἡ νύμφη πάνυ ἀκριβῶς ἐγκεκαλυμ-
 μένη, ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν περιεχομένη· ἐς δὲ τὸ
 ἀντίθυρον ἡ ἄλλη πληθύς, ὥς ἕκαστος ἀξίας εἶχε.
 κατ' ἀντικρὺ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν πρῶτος ὁ Εὐκριτος, 9
 εἶτα Ἀρισταίνετος. εἶτα ἐνεδοιάζετο πότερον χρὴ
 πρότερον Ζηνόθεμιν τὸν Στωϊκὸν ἢ γέροντα ἢ Ἑρ-
 μωνα τὸν Ἐπικούρειον, ἱερεὺς γὰρ ἦν τοῖν ἀνάκοι
 καὶ γένους τοῦ πρώτου ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἀλλὰ ὁ Ζηνό-
 θεμις ἔλυσε τὴν ἀπορίαν· “Εἰ γὰρ με,” φησὶν, “ὦ
 Ἀρισταίνετε, δεύτερον ἄξεις τουτοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρός,¹
 ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν εἴπω, Ἐπικουρείου, ἄπειμι
 ὅλον σοι τὸ συμπόσιον καταλιπών.” καὶ ἅμα
 τὸν παῖδα ἐκάλει καὶ ἐξιόντι ἐφώνει. καὶ ὁ Ἑρμων,
 “Ἐχε μὲν, ὦ Ζηνόθεμι, τὰ πρῶτα,” ἔφη· “ἀτὰρ
 εἰ καὶ² μηδὲν τι ἕτερον, ἱερεῖ γε ὄντι ὑπεξίστασθαι
 καλῶς εἶχεν, εἰ καὶ τοῦ Ἐπικούρου πάνυ κατα-
 πεφρόνηκας.” “Ἐγέλασα,” ἢ δ' ὅς ὁ Ζηνόθεμις,
 “Ἐπικούρειον ἱερέα,” καὶ ἅμα λέγων κατεκλίνετο
 καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὁμως ὁ Ἑρμων, εἶτα Κλεόδημος ὁ
 Περιπατητικὸς, εἶτα ὁ Ἴων καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὁ
 νυμφίος, εἰτ' ἐγὼ καὶ παρ' ἐμὲ ὁ Δίφιλος καὶ ὑπ'
 αὐτῷ Ζήνων ὁ μαθητής, εἶτα ὁ ῥήτωρ Διονυσό-
 δωρος καὶ ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἰστιαῖος.

¹ τουτοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρός MSS. : τουτονί, ἀνδρός Bekker.

² εἰ καὶ MSS. : εἰ Fritzsche : κἂν?

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By that time we had to take our places, for almost everyone was there. On the right as you enter, the women occupied the whole couch, as there were a good many of them, with the bride among them, very scrupulously veiled and hedged in by the women. Toward the back door came the rest of the company according to the esteem in which each was held. Opposite the women, the first was Eucritus, and then Aristænetus. Then a question was raised whether Zenothemis the Stoic should have precedence, he being an old man, or Hermon the Epicurean, because he was a priest of the Twin Brethren and a member of the leading family in the city. But Zenothemis solved the problem; "Aristænetus," said he, "if you put me second to this man here,—an Epicurean, to say nothing worse of him,—I shall go away and leave you in full possession of your board." With that he called his attendant and made as if to go out. So Hermon said: "Take the place of honour, Zenothemis; but you would have done well to yield to me because I am a priest, if for no other reason, however much you despise Epicurus." "You make me laugh," said Zenothemis: "an Epicurean priest!" With these words he took his place, and Hermon next him, in spite of what had passed; then Cleodemus the Peripatetic; then Ion, and below him the bridegroom, then myself; beside me Diphilus, and below him his pupil Zeno; and then the rhetorician Dionysodorus and the grammarian Histiaeus.

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ΦΙΛΩΝ

Βαβαί, ὦ Λυκῖνε, μουσεῖόν τι τὸ συμπόσιον 10
 διηγῇ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν πλείστων, καὶ ἔγωγε
 τὸν Ἀρισταίνετον ἐπαινῶ, ὅτι τὴν εὐκταιστάτην
 ἑορτὴν ἄγων τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἐστιᾶν πρὸ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἠξίωσεν, ὃ τι περ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐξ ἐκάστης
 αἵρέσεως ἀπανθισάμενος, οὐχὶ τοὺς μέν, τοὺς δὲ
 οὐ, ἀλλὰ ἀναμίξῃ ἅπαντας.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἔστι γάρ, ὦ ἐταῖρε, οὐχὶ τῶν πολλῶν τούτων
 πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδείας μέλει αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ
 πλείστον τοῦ βίου τούτοις ξύνεστιν.

Εἰστιώμεθα οὖν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ 11
 παρεσκεύαστο ποικίλα. πλὴν οὐδὲν οἶμαι χρῆ
 καὶ ταῦτα καταριθμεῖσθαι, χυμοὺς καὶ πέμματα
 καὶ καρυκείας· ἅπαντα γὰρ ἄφθονα. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ
 ὁ Κλεόδημος ἐπικύψας ἐς τὸν Ἴωνα, “Ὁρᾶς,”
 ἔφη, “τὸν γέροντα”—Ζηνόθεμιν λέγων, ἐπήκουον
 γάρ—“ὅπως ἐμφορεῖται τῶν ὄψων καὶ ἀναπέπλη-
 σται ζωμοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ ὅσα τῷ παιδί κατόπιν
 ἐστῶτι ὀρέγει λανθάνειν οἰόμενος τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐ
 μεμνημένος τῶν μεθ’ αὐτόν; δείξον οὖν καὶ Λυκίνῳ
 ταῦτα, ὥς μάρτυς εἶη.” ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδεόμην
 δείξοντός μοι τοῦ Ἴωνος πολὺ πρότερον αὐτὰ ἐκ
 περιωπῆς ἑωρακώς.

Ἄμα δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κλεόδημος εἰρήκει καὶ ἐπεισ- 12
 ἐπαίσειν ὁ Κυνικὸς Ἀλκιδάμας ἄκλητος, ἐκείνου
 τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιχαριεντισάμενος, “τὸν Μενέλαον
 αὐτόματον ἤκοντα.” τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ἀναί-

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PHILO

Heavens, Lycinus, it's a school of art, this dinner party that you are telling of! Philosophers almost to a man. Good for Aristaenetus, I say, because in celebrating the greatest festival day that there is, he thought fit to entertain the most learned men in preference to the rest of the world, and culled the bloom, as it were, of every school, not including some and leaving out others, but asking all without discrimination.

LYCINUS

Why, my dear fellow, he is not one of the common run of rich men; he is interested in culture and spends the better part of his time with these people.

Well, we dined peacefully at first, and were served with all sorts of dishes, but I don't suppose there is any need of enumerating them—the sauces and pastries and ragouts. There was everything, and plenty of it. Meanwhile Cleodemus bent over to Ion and said: "Do you see the old man?"—meaning Zenothemis: I was listening, you know. "How he stuffs himself with the dainties and has covered his cloak with soup, and how much food he hands to his attendant standing behind him! He thinks that the others do not see him, but he forgets the people at his back. Point it out to Lycinus, so that he can testify to it." But I had no need of Ion to point it out, for I had seen it all from my coign of vantage some time ago.

Just as Cleodemus said that, Alcidas the Cynic romped in uninvited, getting off the commonplace joke about Menelaus coming of his own accord.¹ Most of them thought he had done an impudent

¹ *Iliad* 2, 408.

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σχυντα ἐδόκει πεποιηκέναι καὶ ὑπέκρουον τὰ προχειρότατα, ὁ μὲν τὸ ἀφραίνεις Μενέλαε, ὁ δ'

ἄλλ' οὐκ Ἀτρείδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἦνδανε θυμῷ, καὶ ἄλλοι¹ ἄλλα πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν εὖστοχα καὶ χαρίεντα ὑποτονθορύζοντες· ἐς μέντοι τὸ φανερόν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα λέγειν· ἐδεδοίκεσαν γὰρ τὸν Ἀλκιδάμαντα, βοὴν ἀγαθὸν ἀτεχνῶς ὄντα καὶ κρακτικώτατον κυνῶν ἀπάντων, παρ' ὃ καὶ ὑμείνων ἐδόκει καὶ φοβερώτατος ἦν ἅπασιν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταίνετος ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε 13
θρόνον τινὰ λαβόντα καθίζεσθαι παρ' Ἰστιαίων τε καὶ Διονυσόδωρον. ὁ δέ, “Ἀπαγε,” φησί, “γυναικείον λέγεις καὶ μαλθακὸν ἐπὶ θρόνον καθίζεσθαι ἢ σκίμποδος, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς μαλακῆς ταύτης εὐνῆς μικροῦ δεῖν ὑπτιοὶ κατακείμενοι ἐστιᾷσθε πορφυρίδας ὑποβεβλημένοι· ἐγὼ δὲ κἂν ὀρθοστάδην δειπνήσαιμι ἐμπεριπατῶν ἅμα τῷ συμποσίῳ· εἰ δὲ καὶ κάμοιμι, χαμαὶ τὸν τρίβωνα ὑποβαλόμενος² κείσομαι ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος οἶον τὸν Ἡρακλέα γράφουσιν.” “Οὕτως,” ἔφη, “γιγνέσθω,” ὁ Ἀρισταίνετος, “εἰ σοι ἡδίων.” καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου περιῶν ἐν κύκλῳ ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ἐδείπνει ὥσπερ οἱ Σκύθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀφθονωτέραν νομὴν μετεξανιστάμενος καὶ τοῖς περιφέρουσι τὰ ὄψα συμπερινοστών. καὶ μέντοι καὶ σιτούμενος ἐνεργὸς ἦν ἀρετῆς πέρα 14
καὶ κακίας μεταξὺ διεξιὼν καὶ ἐς τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἀποσκόπτων· ἡρώτα γοῦν τὸν Ἀρισταίνετον, τί βούλονται αὐτῷ αἱ τοσαῦται καὶ τηλικαῦται κύλικες τῶν κεραμεῶν ἴσον δυναμένων.

¹ ἄλλοι Bekker : not in MSS.

² ὑποβαλόμενος Jacobitz ; ὑποβαλλόμενος MSS,

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thing, and they slyly retorted with the first thing they could think of, one growling under his breath, "Menelaus, thou'rt a fool!",¹ another: "But Agamemnon, Atreus' son, was sorely vexed,"² and others other remarks that, in the circumstances, were to the point and witty. But nobody dared to speak out, for they all feared Alcidas, who was really "good at the war-cry,"³ and the noisiest of all the Cynic barkers, for which reason he was considered a superior person and was a great terror to everybody.

Aristaenetus commended him and bade him take a chair and sit beside Histiaeus and Dionysodorus. "Get out with you!" said he. "What you tell me to do is womanish and weak, to sit on a chair or on a stool, like yourselves on that soft bed, lying almost flat on your backs while you feast, with purple cloths under you. I shall take my dinner on my feet as I walk about the dining-room, and if I get tired I'll lie on the floor, leaning on my elbow, with my cloak under me, like Heracles in the pictures they paint of him." "Very well," said Aristaenetus; "if you prefer it that way." Then Alcidas began to circle about for his dinner, shifting to richer pasturage as the Scythians do, and following the orbits of the waiters. But even while he was eating he was not idle, for he talked of virtue and vice all the time, and scoffed at the gold and silver plate; for example, he asked Aristaenetus what was the use of all those great goblets when earthenware would do just as well. But he had begun to be a bore by

¹ *Iliad* 7, 109.

² *Iliad* 1, 24.

³ Like Menelaus: *Iliad* 2, 408.

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ἀλλ' ἐκείνον μὲν ἤδη διανοχλοῦντα ἔπαυσεν ἐς τὸ παρὸν Ἀρισταίνετος τῷ παιδὶ διανεύσας¹ εὐμεγέθη σκύφον ἀναδοῦναι αὐτῷ ζωρότερον ἐγγέαντα· καὶ ἐδόκει ἄριστα ἐπιπνεονκέναι οὐκ εἰδῶς ὅσων κακῶν ἀρχὴν ὁ σκύφος ἐκείνος ἐνε-
 δεδώκει. λαβὼν δὲ ἅμα ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ἐσίγησε μικρὸν καὶ ἐς τοῦδαφος καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἔκειτο ἡμίγυμνος, ὥσπερ ἠπειλήκει, πῆξας τὸν ἀγκῶνα ὀρθόν, ἔχων ἅμα τὸν σκύφον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, οἷος ὁ παρὰ τῷ Φόλῳ Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν γραφῶν δείκνυται.

Ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους συνεχῶς περιεσο- 15
 βεῖτο ἢ κύλιξ καὶ φιλοτησίαι καὶ ὁμιλίας καὶ
 φῶτα εἰσεκεκόμιστο. ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δ' ἐγὼ τὸν
 παρεστῶτα τῷ Κλεοδήμῳ παῖδα οἰνοχόον ὄντα
 ὥραϊον ἰδὼν ὑπομειδιῶντα—χρὴ γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ
 ὅσα πάρεργα τῆς ἐστιάσεως εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα
 εἴ τι πρὸς τὸ γλαφυρώτερον ἐπράχθη—μάλα ἤδη
 πάρεφύλαττον ὃ τι καὶ μειδιάσειε. καὶ μετὰ
 μικρὸν ὁ μὲν προσῆλθεν ὡς ἀποληψόμενος παρὰ
 τοῦ Κλεοδήμου τὴν φιάλην, ὁ δὲ τὸν τε δάκτυλον
 ἀπέθλιψεν αὐτοῦ καὶ δραχμὰς δύο, οἶμαι, συνανέ-
 δωκε μετὰ τῆς φιάλης· ὁ παῖς δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸν
 δάκτυλον θλιβόμενον αὐθις ἐμειδιάσεν, οὐ μὴν
 συνείδεν, οἶμαι, τὸ νόμισμα, ὥστε μὴ δεξαμένου
 ψόφον αἱ δύο δραχμαὶ παρέσχον ἐκπεσοῦσαι, καὶ
 ἠρυθρίασαν ἅμφω μάλα σαφῶς. ἠπόρουν δὲ οἱ
 πλησίον οὔτινος εἶη τὰ νομίσματα, τοῦ μὲν παιδὸς
 ἀρνούμενου μὴ ἀποβεβληκέναι, τοῦ δὲ Κλεοδήμου,
 καθ' ὃν ὁ ψόφος ἐγένετο, μὴ προσποιουμένου τὴν
 ἀπόρριψιν. ἡμελήθη οὖν καὶ παρώφθη τοῦτο οὐ

¹ διανεύσας Fritzsche: δὲ νεύσας Ω.

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this time, so Aristaenetus put a quietus on him for the moment by directing the waiter to give him a big bowl and pour him out a stiffer drink. He thought that he had had a good idea, little realising what woes that bowl was destined to give rise to. On taking it, Alcidas kept quiet for a little while, throwing himself on the floor and lying there half-naked as he had threatened, with his elbow squared under him and the bowl in his right hand, just as Heracles in the cave of Pholus is represented by the painters.

By this time the cup was going round continually among the rest of the party, there were toasts and conversations, and the lights had been brought in. Meanwhile, noticing that the boy in attendance on Cleodemus, a handsome cup-bearer, was smiling (I must tell all the incidents of the feast, I suppose, especially whatever happened that was rather good), I began to keep special watch to see what he was smiling about. After a little while he went up to Cleodemus as if to take the cup from him, and Cleodemus pressed his finger and gave him two drachmas, I think, along with the cup. The boy responded to the pressure of his finger with another smile, but no doubt did not perceive the money, so that, through his not taking it, the two drachmas fell and made a noise, and they both blushed very noticeably. Those near by them wondered whose the coins were ; for the lad said he had not dropped them, and Cleodemus, beside whom the noise was made, pretended that he had not let them fall. So the matter was disregarded and ignored, since not

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πάνυ πολλῶν ἰδόντων πλὴν μόνου, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἔδοξε, τοῦ Ἀρισταινέτου· μετέστησε γὰρ τὸν παῖδα μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀφανῶς ὑπεξαγαγὼν καὶ τῷ Κλεοδήμῳ τινὰ παραστήναι διένειυσε τῶν ἐξώρων ἤδη καὶ καρτερῶν, ὀρεωκόμον τινὰ ἢ ἵπποκόμον· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὧδέ πως ἐκεχωρήκει, μεγάλης ἂν¹ αἰσχύνης αἴτιον τῷ Κλεοδήμῳ γενόμενον, εἰ ἔφθη διαφοιτήσαν εἰς ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατέσβη αὐτίκα, δεξιῶς πάνυ τοῦ Ἀρισταινέτου τὴν παροιμίαν ἐνέγκαντος.

Ὁ Κυνικὸς δὲ Ἀλκιδάμας, ἐπεπώκει γὰρ ἤδη, 16
 πυθόμενος ἥτις ἡ γαμουμένη παῖς καλοῖτο,²
 σιωπὴν παραγγείλας μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ ἀποβλέψας
 ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, “Προπίνω σοι,” ἔφη, “ὦ Κλεανθί,
 Ἡρακλέους ἀρχηγέτου.” ὡς δ’ ἐγέλασαν ἐπὶ
 τούτῳ ἅπαντες, “Ἐγελάσατε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ καθάρ-
 ματα, εἰ τῇ νύμφῃ προὔπιον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου
 θεοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους; καὶ μὴν εὖ εἰδέναι χρὴ ὡς
 ἦν μὴ λάβῃ παρ’ ἐμοῦ τὸν σκύφον, οὐποτε τοιοῦτος
 ἂν υἱὸς αὐτῇ γένοιτο οἶος ἐγώ, ἄτρεπτος μὲν ἀλκὴν,
 ἐλεύθερος δὲ τὴν γνώμην, τὸ σῶμα δὲ οὕτω
 καρτερός.” καὶ ἅμα παρεγύμνου ἑαυτὸν μᾶλλον
 ἄχρι πρὸς τὸ αἰσχιστον. αὐθις ἐπὶ τούτοις
 ἐγέλασαν οἱ συμπόται, καὶ ὃς ἀγανακτήσας
 ἐπανίστατο δριμύ καὶ παράφορον βλέπων καὶ
 δῆλος ἦν οὐκέτι εἰρήνην ἄξων. τάχα δ’ ἂν τινος
 καθίκετο τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, εἰ μὴ κατὰ καιρὸν εἰσε-
 κεκόμιστο πλακοῦς εὐμεγέθης, πρὸς ὃν ἀποβλέψας
 ἡμερώτερος ἐγένετο καὶ ἔληξε τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ
 ἐνεφορεῖτο συμπεριμῶν. καὶ οἱ πλείστοι ἐμέθυον 17

¹ ἂν Bekker: not in MSS.

² MSS, καλοῖτο (Σ) and ἐκαλεῖτο.

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very many saw it except surely Aristaenetus, for he shifted the boy a little later on, sending him out of the room unobtrusively, and directed one of the full-grown, muscular fellows, a muleteer or stable-boy, to wait on Cleodemus. So the affair turned out in that way, whereas it would have caused Cleodemus great shame if it had been speedily noised about among the whole company instead of being hushed up on the spot by the clever manner in which Aristaenetus treated the silly performance.

The Cynic Alcidamas, who was tipsy by this time, enquired the name of the bride, and then, after calling for silence in a loud voice and fixing his eyes on the women, he said: "Cleanthis, I pledge you Heracles, my patron." Since everybody laughed at that, he said: "Did you laugh, you scum of the earth, that I gave the bride a toast to our god Heracles? I'd have you to know that if she doesn't accept the bowl from me, she will never have a son like me, invincible in courage, unfettered in intellect and as strong in body as I am," and with that he bared himself still more, in the most shameless way. Again the guests laughed at all this, and he got up in anger with a fierce, wild look, clearly not intending to keep the peace any longer. Perhaps he would have hit someone with his staff if just in the nick of time a huge cake had not been brought in; but when he set eyes on that, he became calmer, put away his wrath, and began to walk about and stuff himself. Most of the

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ἤδη καὶ βοῆς μεστὸν ἦν τὸ συμπόσιον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Διονυσόδωρος ὁ ῥήτωρ ἀντιρρήσεις¹ τινὰς ἐν μέρει διεξήκει καὶ ἐπηνεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν κατόπιν ἐφεστώτων οἰκετῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἰστιαῖος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐρραψώδει ὕστερος κατακείμενος καὶ συνέφερεν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰ Πινδάρου καὶ Ἑσιόδου καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος, ὡς ἐξ ἀπάντων μίαν ᾠδὴν παγγέλοιον ἀποτελεῖσθαι, μάλιστα δ' ἐκεῖνα ὥσπερ προμαντευόμενος τὰ μέλλοντα,

σὺν δ' ἔβαλον ῥινούς·

καὶ

ἔνθα δ' ἄρ' οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ εὐχωλὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν.
ὁ Ζηνόθεμις δ' ἀνεγίνωσκε παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς λαβὼν
λεπτόγραφόν² τι βιβλίον.

Διαλιπόντων δὲ ὀλίγον, ὥσπερ εἰώθασι, τῶν 18
παρακομιζόντων τὰ ὄψα μηχανώμενος Ἀρισταί-
νετος μὴδ' ἐκείνουν ἀτερπὴ τὸν καιρὸν εἶναι μὴδὲ
κενὸν ἐκέλευσε τὸν γελωτοποιὸν εἰσελθόντα εἰπεῖν
τι ἢ πρᾶξαι γελοῖον, ὡς ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ συμπόται
διαχυθεῖεν. καὶ παρήλθεν ἄμορφός τις ἐξυρημένος
τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὀλίγας ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τρίχας ὀρθὰς
ἔχων· οὗτος ὠρχήσατό τε κατακλῶν ἑαυτὸν καὶ
διαστρέφων, ὡς γελοιότερος φανείη, καὶ ἀνάπαιστα
συγκροτῶν διεξήλθεν αἰγυπτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ
τέλος ἐπέσκωπτεν ἐς τοὺς παρόντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν 19
ἄλλοι ἐγέλων ὁπότε σκωφθεῖεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς

¹ ἀντιρρήσεις Gertz : αὐτοῦ ῥήσεις MSS. "his own speeches."

² λεπτόγραφόν Herwerden : λεπτόγραμμόν MSS.

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company were drunk by then, and the room was full of uproar. Dionysodorus the rhetorician was making speeches, pleading first on one side and then on the other, and was getting applauded by the servants who stood behind him. Histiaeus the grammarian, who had the place next him, was reciting verse, combining the lines of Pindar and Hesiod and Anacreon in such a way as to make out of them a single poem and a very funny one, especially in the part where he said, as though foretelling what was going to happen :

“They smote their shields together,”¹

and

“Then lamentations rose, and vaunts of men.”²

But Zenothemis was reading aloud from a closely written book that he had taken from his attendant.

When, as often happens, the service of the waiters was interrupted for a while, Aristænetus planned to prevent even that period from being unenterprising and empty, and ordered the clown to come in and do or say something funny, in order to make his guests still merrier. In came an ugly fellow with his head shaven except for a few hairs that stood up straight on his crown. First he danced, doubling himself up and twisting himself about to cut a more ridiculous figure; then he beat time and recited scurrilous verses in an Egyptian brogue, and finally he began to poke fun at the guests. The rest laughed when they were made fun of, but when he took a fling at Alcidas in

¹ *Iliad* 4, 447.

² *Iliad* 4, 450. Ausonius' *Cento Nuptialis*, an epithalamium composed of tags from Vergil, illustrates Lucian's meaning perfectly.

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τὸν Ἀλκιδάμαντα ὁμοίον τι ἀπέρριψε Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον προσειπὼν αὐτόν, ἀγανακτήσας ἐκείνος—καὶ πάλαι δὲ δῆλος ἦν φθονῶν αὐτῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι καὶ κατέχοντι τὸ συμπόσιον—ἀπορρίψας τὸν τρίβωνα προῦκαλεῖτό οἱ παγκρατιάζειν, εἰ δὲ μή, κατοίσειν αὐτοῦ ἔφη τὴν βακτηρίαν. οὕτω δὲ ὁ κακοδαίμων Σατυρίων—τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ γελωτοποιὸς ἐκαλεῖτο—συστὰς ἐπαγκρατίαζε. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπερῆδιστον ἦν, φιλόσοφος ἀνὴρ γελωτοποιῶ ἀνταιρόμενος καὶ παίων καὶ παιόμενος ἐν τῷ μέρει. οἱ παρόντες δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡδoῦντο, οἱ δὲ ἐγέλων, ἄχρι ἀπηγόρευσε παιόμενος ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ὑπὸ συγκεκροτημένου ἀνθρωπίσκου καταγωνισθεῖς. γέλωσ οὖν πολὺς ἐξεχύθη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

Ἐνταῦθα Διονίκος ἐπεισῆλθεν ὁ ἰατρὸς οὐ πολὺ 20 κατόπιν τοῦ ἀγῶνος· ἐβεβραδύκει δέ, ὡς ἔφασκε, φρενίτιδι ἐαλωκότα θεραπεύων Πολυπρέποντα τὸν αὐλητήν. καὶ τι καὶ γελοῖον διηγήσατο· ἔφη μὲν γὰρ εἰσελθεῖν παρ' αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰδὼς ἐχόμενον ἤδη τῷ πάθει, τὸν δὲ ταχέως ἀναστάντα ἐπικλείσαι τε τὴν θύραν καὶ ξιφίδιον σπασάμενον ἀναδόντα αὐτῷ τοὺς αὐλοὺς κελεύειν αὐλεῖν· εἴτα ἐπεὶ μὴ δύναίτο, παίειν σκῦτος ἔχοντα ἐς ὑπτίας τὰς χεῖρας. τέλος οὖν ἐν τοσούτῳ κινδύνῳ ἐπινοῆσαι τοιόνδε· ἐς ἀγῶνα γὰρ προκαλέσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ῥητῷ πληγῶν ἀριθμῷ, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς αὐλῆσαι πονήρως, μετὰ δὲ παραδοὺς¹ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἐκείνῳ δέξασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ σκῦτος καὶ τὸ

¹ παραδοὺς Bekker : παραδόντα MSS.

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the same way, calling him a Maltese lapdog,¹ Alcidas got angry: indeed, for a long time it had been plain that he was jealous because the other fellow was making a hit and holding the attention of the room. So, throwing off his philosopher's cloak, he challenged him to fight, or else, he said, he would lay his staff on him. Then poor Satyrion, for that was the clown's name, stood up to him and fought. It was delicious to see a philosopher squaring off at a clown, and giving and receiving blows in turn. Though some of onlookers were disgusted, others kept laughing, until finally Alcidas had enough of his punishment, well beaten by a tough little dwarf. So they got roundly laughed at.

At that point Dionicus, the doctor, came in, not long after the fray. He had been detained, he said, to attend a man who had gone crazy, Polyprepon the flute-player; and he told a funny story. He said that he had gone into the man's room without knowing that he was already affected by the trouble, and that Polyprepon, getting out of bed quickly, had locked the door, drawn a knife, handed him his flutes and told him to begin playing; and then, because he could not play, had beaten him with a strap on the palms of his hands. At last in the face of so great a peril, the doctor devised this scheme: he challenged him to a match, the loser to get a certain number of blows. First he himself played wretchedly, and then giving up the flutes to Polyprepon, he

¹ The joke here lies primarily in the play on *κύων* (Cynic), but it should also be borne in mind that the Greek name Melite was given not only to the island of Malta, but to the deme in Athens in which the worship of Heracles, the patron of the Cynic sect, was localised.

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ξιφίδιον καὶ ἀπορρίψαι τάχιστα διὰ τῆς φωταγωγοῦ ἐς τὸ ὑπαιθρον τῆς αὐλῆς, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀσφαλέστερος ἤδη προσπαλαίων αὐτῷ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τοὺς γειτιῶντας, ὑφ' ὧν ἀνασπασάντων τὸ θύριον σωθῆναι αὐτός.¹ ἐδείκνυ δὲ καὶ σημεῖα τῶν πληγῶν καὶ ἀμυχάς τινας ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Διόνικος οὐ μείον εὐδοκιμήσας τοῦ γελωτοποιοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ διηγῇσει πλησίον τοῦ Ἰστιαίου παραβύσας ἑαυτὸν ἐδείπνει ὅσα λοιπά, οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ τινος ἡμῖν ἐπιπαρών, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάννυχος τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα γεγεννημένος. παρελθὼν γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέσον οἰκέτης παρ' Ἐτοιμοκλέους τοῦ Στωϊκοῦ ἦκειν λέγων γραμματίδιον ἔχων κελεύσαι οἱ ἔφη τὸν δεσπότην ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἀναγνόντα εἰς ἐπήκοον ἅπασιν ὑπίσω αὐθις ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ἐφέντος οὖν τοῦ Ἀρισταινέτου προσελθὼν πρὸς τὸν λύχνον ἀνεγίνωσκεν. 21

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Ἦ που, ὦ Λυκῖνε, τῆς νύμφης ἐγκώμιον ἢ ἐπιθαλάμιον, οἷα πολλὰ ποιοῦσιν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀμέλει καὶ ἡμεῖς τοιοῦτον ᾤήθημεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγγὺς ἦν τούτου· ἐνεγέγραπτο γάρ·

“Ἐτοιμοκλῆς φιλόσοφος Ἀρισταινέτω.

22

“Ὅπως μὲν ἔχω πρὸς δεῖπνα ὁ παρεληλυθὼς μοι βίος ἅπας μαρτύριον ἂν γένοιτο, ὅς γε ὅσημέραι πολλῶν ἐνοχλούντων παρὰ πολὺ σοῦ πλουσιωτέρων ὅμως οὐδὲ πώποτε φέρων ἐμαυτὸν

¹ αὐτός Bekker : αὐτόν MSS.

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took the strap and the knife and threw them quickly out of the window into the open court. Then, feeling safer, he grappled with him and called the neighbours, who pried the door open and rescued him. And he showed the marks of the blows, and a few scratches on his face.

Dionicus, who had made no less of a hit than the clown, thanks to his story, squeezed himself in beside Histiaeus and fell to dining on what was left. His coming was a special dispensation, for he proved very useful in what followed. You see, a servant came into the midst of us, saying that he was from Hetoemocles the Stoic and carrying a paper which he said his master had told him to read in public, so that everybody would hear, and then to go back again. On getting the consent of Aristaenetus, he went up to the lamp and began to read.

PHILO

I suppose, Lycinus, that it was an address in praise of the bride, or else a wedding-song? They often write such pieces.

LYCINUS

Of course we ourselves expected something of the sort, but it was far from that: its contents were:

“Hetoemocles the philosopher to Aristaenetus.

“How I feel about dining out, my whole past life can testify; for although every day I am pestered by many men much richer than you are, nevertheless I am never forward about accepting, as I am familiar

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ἐπέδωκα εἰδὼς τοὺς ἐπὶ¹ τοῖς συμποσίοις θορύβους καὶ παροινίας. ἐπὶ σοῦ δὲ μόνου εἰκότως ἀγανακτῆσαί μοι δοκῶ, ὅς τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λιπαρῶς τεθεραπευμένος οὐκ ἠξίωσας ἐναριθμῆσαι καὶ μὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις, ἀλλὰ μόνος ἐγὼ σοι ἄμοιρος, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν γειτόνων οἰκῶν. ἀνιῶμαι οὖν ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸ πλεον οὕτως ἀχαρίστῳ φανέντι· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἡ εὐδαιμονία οὐκ ἐν ὑὸς ἀγρίου μοίρα ἢ λαγωοῦ ἢ πλακοῦντος, ἀ παρ' ἄλλοις ἀφθόνως ἀπολαύω τὰ καθήκοντα εἰδόσιν; ἐπεὶ καὶ τήμερον παρὰ τῷ μαθητῇ Παμμένει δειπνήσαι πολυτελές, ὥς φασι, δειπνον δυνάμενος οὐκ ἐπένευσα ἰκετεύοντι, σοὶ ὁ ἀνόητος ἐμαυτὸν φυλάττων. σὺ 23 δὲ ἡμᾶς παράλιπὼν ἄλλους εὐωχεῖς, εἰκότως· οὐπω γὰρ δύνασαι διακρίνειν τὸ βέλτιον οὐδὲ τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν ἔχεις. ἀλλὰ οἶδα ὅθεν μοι ταῦτα, παρὰ τῶν θαυμαστῶν σου φιλοσόφων, Ζηνοθέμιδος καὶ Λαβυρίνθου, ὧν—ἀπείη δὲ· ἡ Ἀδράστεια—συλλογισμῷ ἐνὶ ἀποφράξαι ἂν μοι τάχιστα δοκῶ τὰ στόματα. ἢ εἰπάτω τις αὐτῶν, τί ἐστὶ φιλοσοφία; ἢ τὰ πρῶτα ταῦτα, τί διαφέρει σχέσις ἕξεως; ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἀπόρων εἴπω τι, κερατίναν ἢ σωρείτην ἢ θερίζοντα λόγον.

¹ ἐπὶ MSS. : ἐν Fritsche, perhaps rightly.

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with the disturbances and riotous doings at dinner-parties. But in your case and yours only I think I have reason to be angry, because you, to whom I have so long ministered indefatigably, did not think fit to number me among your friends: no, I alone do not count with you, and that too though I live next door. I am indignant, therefore, and more on your account than on my own, because you have shown yourself so thankless. For me, happiness is not a matter of getting a wild boar, a hare or a cake—things which I enjoy ungrudged at the tables of other people who know what is right. Indeed, to-day I might have had dinner with my pupil Pammenes (and a splendid dinner, too, they say), but I did not accede to his entreaties, saving myself for you, fool that I was. You, however, have given me the go-by and are entertaining others. No wonder, for you are even yet unable to distinguish between the better and the worse, and you have not the faculty of forming concepts, either. But I know where all this comes from—those wonderful philosophers of yours, Zenothemis and the Labyrinth, whose mouths I could very soon stop, I know, with a single syllogism, Heaven forgive me for boasting! Just let one of them say what philosophy is, or, to go back to the elements, what is the difference between attribute and accident.¹ I shall not mention any of the fallacies like ‘the horns,’ ‘the heap,’ or ‘the mower.’²

¹ More literally, *ἐξίς* means a permanent state, *σχεσίς* a transient state.

² The Stoics devoted a great deal of study to the invention and solution of fallacies. “The horns” ran thus: “All that you have not lost, you have; but you have not lost horns, ergo, you have them.” In “the heap” the philosopher

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ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ὄναιο αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἂν μόνον
τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν ἡγούμενος εἶναι οἶσω ῥαδίως
τὴν ἀτιμίαν. καίτοι ὅπως μὴ ἐς ἐκείνην ἔχῃς 24
καταφεύγειν τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὕστερον, ἐπιλαθῆσθαι
λέγων ἐν τοσούτῳ θορύβῳ καὶ πράγματι, δὶς σε
τῆμερον προσηγόρευσα καὶ ἔωθεν ἐπὶ τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ
ἐν τῷ ἀνακείῳ θύοντα ὕστερον. ταῦτα ἐγὼ τοῖς
παροῦσιν ἀπολελόγημαι.

Εἰ δὲ δείπνου ἔνεκα ὀργίζεσθαί σοι δοκῶ, τὸ 25
κατὰ τὸν Οἰνέα ἐννόησον· ὄψει γὰρ καὶ τὴν
Ἄρτεμιν ἀγανακτοῦσαν, ὅτι μόνην αὐτὴν οὐ
παρέλαβεν ἐκείνος ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν τοὺς ἄλλους
θεοὺς ἐστιῶν. φησὶ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν Ὅμηρος
ὧδέ πως·

ἥ λάθετ' ἥ οὐκ ἐνόησεν, ἀάσατο δὲ μέγα θυμῷ·
καὶ Εὐριπίδης·

Καλυδὼν μὲν ἦδε γαῖα, Πελοπίας χθονὸς
ἐν ἀντιπόρθμοις, πεδί' ἔχουσ' εὐδαίμονα.
καὶ Σοφοκλῆς·

συὸς μέγιστον χρῆμ' ἐπ' Οἰνέως γύαις
ἀνῆκε Λητοῦς παῖς ἐκηβόλος θεά.

Ταῦτά σοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγα παρεθέμην, 26
ὅπως μάθῃς οἶον ἄνδρα παραλιπὼν Δίφιλον
ἐστιᾶς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ παραδέδωκας, εἰκότως·

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"Well, much may your philosophers profit you! Holding as I do that only what is honourable is good, I shall easily stand the slight. But you need not think you can afterwards take refuge in the plea that you forgot me in all the confusion and bother, for I spoke to you twice to-day, not only in the morning at your house, but later in the day, when you were sacrificing at the temple of Castor and Pollux.

"If you think that I am angry over a mere dinner, call to mind the story of Oeneus and you will see that Artemis herself was angry because she was the only one whom he had not asked to the sacrifice when he entertained all the rest of the gods. Homer puts it something like this :

Whether he forgot or would not, greatly was his soul
at fault.¹

Euripides says :

This land is Calydon, lying over seas
From Pelops' isle ; a land of fertile plains.²

And Sophocles :

A boar, a monstrous thing, on Oeneus' fields
Turned loose Latona's lass, who kills afar.³

"I bring to your attention only these few points out of many, so that you may learn what sort of man you have left out in favour of Diphilus, whom you entertain and have put in charge of your son. No

proves that one grain of corn makes a heap ; in "the mower," that a man who says he will mow a field will not and cannot mow it. Several other fallacies are illustrated in "Philosophers for Sale," 22.

¹ *Iliad* 9, 537.

² From the lost *Meleager* of Euripides.

³ From the lost *Meleager* of Sophocles.

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ἡδὺς γάρ ἐστι τῷ μεираκίῳ καὶ πρὸς χάριν αὐτῷ
 σύνεστιν. εἰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχρὸν ἦν ἐμέ λέγειν τὰ
 τοιαῦτα, καὶ¹ τι προσέθηκα, ὅπερ σύ, εἰ θέλεις,
 παρὰ Ζωπύρου τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ ἂν μάθοις ἀληθὲς
 ὄν. ἀλλ' οὐ χρὴ ταραττεῖν ἐν γάμοις οὐδὲ δια-
 βάλλειν ἄλλους, καὶ μάλιστα ἐφ' οὕτως αἰσχροῖς
 αἰτίαις· καὶ γὰρ εἰ Δίφιλος ἄξιος δύο ἤδη
 μαθητάς μου περισπάσας, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε φιλοσοφίας
 αὐτῆς ἔνεκεν σιωπήσομαι.

“Προσέταξα δὲ τῷ οἰκέτῃ τούτῳ, ἣν διδῶς αὐτῷ 27
 μοῖράν τινα ἢ συὸς ἢ ἐλάφου ἢ σησαμοῦντος, ὥς
 ἔμοι διακομίσειε καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ δείπνου ἀπολογία
 γένοιτο, μὴ λαβεῖν, μὴ καὶ δόξωμεν ἐπὶ τούτῳ
 πεπομφέναι.”

Τούτων, ὦ ἐταῖρε, ἀναγινωσκομένων μεταξὺ 28
 ἰδρῶς τέ μοι περιεχέιτο ὑπ' αἰδοῦς, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ
 τὸ τοῦ λόγου, χανεῖν μοι τὴν γῆν ἡνυχόμην ὀρῶν
 τοὺς παρόντας γελῶντας ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ καὶ μάλιστα
 ὅσοι ἤδεσαν τὸν Ἑτοιμοκλέα, πολὺν ἄνθρωπον
 καὶ σεμνὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα. ἐθαύμαζον οὖν οἷος
 ὦν διαλάθοι αὐτοὺς ἐξαπατωμένους τῷ πώγωνι
 καὶ τῇ τοῦ προσώπου ἐντάσει. ὁ γὰρ Ἀρισταί-
 νετος ἐδόκει μοι οὐκ ἀμελεία παριδεῖν² αὐτόν, ἀλλ'
 οὐποτ' ἂν ἐλπίσας κληθέντα ἐπινεύσαι οὐδ' ἂν
 ἐμπαρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν τοιούτῳ τινί· ὥστε οὐδὲ τὴν 29
 ἀρχὴν πειρᾶσθαι ἡξίου. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐπαύσατό
 ποτε ὁ οἰκέτης ἀναγινώσκων, τὸ μὲν συμπόσιον
 ἅπαν εἰς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ζήνωνα καὶ Δίφιλον ἀπέ-
 βλεπε δεδοικότας καὶ ὠχρίωντας καὶ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ

¹ καὶ Fritzsche : καὶ ἂν MSS.

² MSS. παριδεῖν (urged by Fritzsche) and περιδεῖν.

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wonder, for he is nice to the boy and likes to be with him. If it were not beneath me to say such things, I might have told you something more, and if you wished you could find out from Zopyrus, the boy's attendant, that it is true. But it is wrong to make trouble at a wedding and to defame others, especially with charges so unseemly. Albeit Diphilus deserves it for having won two pupils away from me, I shall hold my tongue in deference to Philosophy herself.

"I have directed my servant, in case you offer him a portion of boar's flesh or venison or sesame-cake to bring to me as an excuse for not asking me to dinner, not to take it, for fear it may seem as though I sent him with that in view."

While all that was being read, my dear fellow, the sweat poured off me for shame, and to quote the saying, I prayed that the earth would swallow me when I saw the guests all laughing at every sentence, especially as many as knew Hetoemocles, a man with gray hair who looked to be high-minded. It was a marvel to me that such a man had hoodwinked them, deceiving them with his beard and the concentration expressed in his features. It was my notion that Aristaenetus had not carelessly overlooked him, but that, not thinking he would accept if invited, he would not expose himself to any such treatment, and so thought best not to try him at all. When at last the slave stopped reading, the whole party looked at Zeno and Diphilus, who were frightened and pale, and by the distress in their faces acknowledged the truth of the

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τῶν προσώπων ἐπαληθεύοντας τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑτοιμοκλέους κατηγορηθέντα· ὁ Ἀρισταίνετος δὲ ἐτε-
 τάρακτο καὶ θορύβου μεστὸς ἦν, ἐκέλευε δ' ὅμως
 πίνειν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο εὖ διατίθεσθαι τὸ γεγο-
 νὸς ὑπομειδιῶν ἅμα, καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην ἀπέπεμψεν
 εἰπὼν ὅτι ἐπιμελήσεται τούτων. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ
 καὶ ὁ Ζήνων ὑπεξανέστη ἀφανῶς, τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ
 νεύσαντος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ὡς κελεύσαντος τοῦ
 πατρός.

Ὁ Κλεόδημος δὲ καὶ πάλαι τινὸς ἀφορμῆς δεό- 30
 μενος—ἐβούλετο γὰρ συμπλακῆναι τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς
 καὶ διερρήγνυτο οὐκ ἔχων ἀρχὴν εὐλογον—τότε
 οὖν τὸ ἐνδόσιμον παρασχούσης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς,
 “Τοιαῦτα,” ἔφη, “ἐξεργάζεται ὁ καλὸς Χρῦσιππος
 καὶ Ζήνων ὁ θαυμαστὸς καὶ Κλεάνθης, ῥημάτια
 δύστηνα καὶ ἐρωτήσεις μόνον καὶ σχήματα φιλο-
 σόφων, τὰ δ' ἄλλα Ἑτοιμοκλεῖς οἱ πλείστοι· καὶ
 αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ ὁρᾶτε ὅπως πρεσβυτικάι, καὶ τὸ
 τελευταῖον Οἶνεὺς μὲν Ἀρισταίνετος, Ἑτοιμοκλῆς
 δὲ Ἀρτεμῖς. Ἡράκλεις, εὐφημα πάντα καὶ ἐορτῇ
 πρέποντα.” “Νῆ Δί’,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἑρμῶν ὑπερ- 31
 κατακείμενος· “ἡκηκόει γάρ, οἶμαι, ἵν τινα
 ἐσκευάσθαι Ἀρισταίνετφ ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον, ὥστε οὐκ
 ἄκαιρον ἐδόκει μεμνήσθαι τοῦ Καλυδωνίου. ἀλλὰ
 πρὸς τῆς Ἑστίας, ὦ Ἀρισταίνετε, πέμπε ὡς
 τάχιστα τῶν ἀπαρχῶν, μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ ὁ πρεσβύτης
 ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ὥσπερ ὁ Μελέαγρος ἀπομαρανθεῖς.
 καίτοι οὐδὲν ἂν πάθοι δεινόν· ἀδιάφορα γὰρ ὁ
 Χρῦσιππος τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡγείτο.” “Χρῦσιππου 32

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charges brought by Hetoemocles. Aristaenetus was perturbed and full of confusion, but he told us to go on drinking just the same and tried to smooth the business over, smiling as he did so ; the servant he sent away with the words : " I will see to it." After a little while Zeno withdrew unobservedly, for his attendant directed him to go, as if at the bidding of his father.

Cleodemus had long been looking for an opportunity, as he wanted to pitch into the Stoics and was ready to burst because he could not find a satisfactory opening. But at last the letter gave him his cue, and he said : " That is what your noble Chrysippus does, and your wonderful Zeno and Cleanthes ! They are nothing but miserable phrase-makers and question-mongers, philosophers in dress, but in all else just like Hetoemocles, most of them. And the letter—look how senile it is ! To cap all, Aristaenetus is Oeneus and Hetoemocles is Artemis ! Good Lord ! In excellent taste, all of it, and just the thing for a festive occasion ! " " Yes," said Hermon, from his place above Cleodemus, " I suppose he had heard that Aristaenetus had a boar ready for the dinner, so that he thought it not inopportune to mention the boar of Calydon. Come, Aristaenetus, in the name of Hospitality send him a portion with all speed, for fear you may be too late and the old man may waste away like Meleager from hunger ! Yet it would be no hardship to him, for Chrysippus held that all such things are of no import."¹

¹ The Stoics divided the objects of human endeavour into three classes—the good, which were to be sought ; the bad, which were to be shunned ; and the indifferent, or unimportant, which were neither to be sought nor shunned.

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γὰρ μέμνησθε ὑμεῖς,” ἔφη ὁ Ζηνόθεμις ἐπεγείρας ἑαυτὸν καὶ φθεγξάμενος παμμέγεθες, “ἢ ἀφ’ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἐννόμως φιλοσοφούντος Ἐτοιμοκλέους τοῦ γόητος μετρεῖτε τὸν Κλεάνθην καὶ Ζήνωνα σοφοὺς ἀνδρας; τίνες¹ δὲ καὶ ὄντες ὑμεῖς ἐρεῖτε ταῦτα; οὐ σὺ μὲν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἤδη, ὦ Ἑρμῶν, τοὺς πλοκάμους περικέκαρκας χρυσοὺς ὄντας; καὶ δώσεις δίκην παραδοθεὶς τῷ δημίῳ. σὺ δὲ τὴν Σωστράτου γυναῖκα τοῦ μαθητοῦ ἐμοίχευες, ὦ Κλεόδημε, καὶ καταληφθεὶς τὰ αἰσχίστα ἔπαθες. οὐ σιωπήσεσθε οὖν τοιαῦτα συνεπιστάμενοι ἑαυτοῖς;” “Ἄλλ’ οὐ μαστροπὸς ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γυναικός,” ἦ δ’ ὅς ὁ Κλεόδημος, “ὥσπερ σὺ, οὐδὲ τοῦ ξένου μαθητοῦ λαβὼν τοῦφόδιον παρακαταθήκας ἔπειτα ὥμοσα κατὰ τῆς Πολιάδος μὴ εἰληφέναι, οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τέτταρσι δραχμαῖς δανείζω, οὐδὲ ἄγχω τοὺς μαθητάς, ἣν μὴ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀποδῶσι τοὺς μισθοὺς.” “Ἄλλ’ ἐκεῖνο,” ἔφη ὁ Ζηνόθεμις, “οὐκ ἂν ἕξαρνος γένοιο μὴ οὐχὶ φάρμακον ἀποδόσθαι Κρίτωνι ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα.” καὶ ἅμα, ἔτυχε γὰρ 33 πίνων, ὁπόσον ἔτι λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ κύλικι, περὶ ἧμισυ σχεδόν, κατεσκέδασεν αὐτοῖν. ἀπέλαυσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰων τῆς γειτονήσεως, οὐκ ἀνάξιος ὢν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἑρμῶν ἀπεξέυετο ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸν ἄκρατον προνευκῶς καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐμαρτύρετο, οἷα ἐπεπόνθει. ὁ Κλεόδημος δέ—οὐ γὰρ εἶχε κύλικα—ἐπιστραφεὶς προσέπτυσέ τε τὸν Ζηνόθεμιν καὶ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ πώγωνος λαβόμενος ἔμελλε παίσειν κατὰ κόρρης, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἂν τὸν

¹ τίνες Bekker: οἷτινες MSS.

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"What, do *you* dare to mention the name of Chrysippus?" said Zenothemis, rousing himself and shouting at the top of his voice. "Dare you judge Cleanthes and Zeno, who were learned men, by a single individual who is not a regular philosopher, by Hetoemocles the charlatan? Who are you two, pray, to say all that? Hermon, didn't you cut off the hair of the Twin Brethren because it was gold?¹ You'll suffer for it, too, when the executioner gets you! And as for you, Cleodemus, you had an affair with the wife of your pupil Sostratus, and were found out and grossly mishandled. Have the grace to hold your tongues, then, with such sins on your consciences!" "But I don't sell the favours of my own wife as you do," said Cleodemus, "nor did I take my foreign pupil's allowance in trust and then swear by Athena Polias that I never had it, nor do I lend money at four per cent. a month, nor throttle my pupils if they fail to pay their fees in time." "But you can't deny," said Zenothemis, "that you sold Crito a dose of poison for his father!" And with that, being in the act of drinking, he flung on the pair all that was left in the cup, and it was about half full! Ion also got the benefit of his nearness to them, and he quite deserved it. Well, Hermon, bending forward, began wiping the wine from his head and calling the guests to witness what had been done to him. But Cleodemus, not having a cup, whirled about and spat on Zenothemis; then, taking him by the beard with his left hand, he was about to hit him in the face, and would

¹ Antique statues with golden (or gilded) hair are mentioned not infrequently. In the "Timon" (4) Lucian alludes to the theft of the hair from the head of the famous statue of Zeus in Olympia.

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γέροντα, εἰ μὴ Ἀρισταίνετος ἐπέσχε τὴν χεῖρα
καὶ ὑπερβὰς τὸν Ζηνόθεμιν ἐς τὸ μέσον αὐτοῖν
κατεκλίθη, ὥς διασταῖεν ὑπὸ διατειχίσματι αὐτῷ
εἰρήνην ἄγοντες.

Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, ποικίλα, ὦ Φίλων, 34
ἐγὼ πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἐνενόουν, οἷον¹ τὸ πρόχειρον
ἐκείνο, ὥς οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἦν ἄρα ἐπίστασθαι τὰ
μαθήματα, εἰ μὴ τις καὶ τὸν βίον ῥυθμίζοι πρὸς
τὸ βέλτιον· ἐκείνους γοῦν περιττοὺς ὄντας ἐν τοῖς
λόγοις ἐώρων γέλωτα ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀφλι-
σκάνοντας. ἔπειτα εἰσήει με, μὴ ἄρα τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν
πολλῶν λεγόμενον ἀληθὲς ἢ καὶ τὸ πεπαιδεῦσθαι
ἀπάγῃ τῶν ὀρθῶν λογισμῶν τοὺς ἐς μόνα τὰ
βιβλία καὶ τὰς ἐν ἐκείνοις φροντίδας ἀτενὲς
ἀφορῶντας· τοσούτων γοῦν φιλοσόφων παρόντων
οὐδὲ κατὰ τύχην ἓνα τινὰ ἔξω ἁμαρτήματος ἦν
ιδεῖν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐποιοῦν αἰσχροῖ, οἱ δ' ἔλεγον
αἰσχίῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς τὸν οἶνον ἔτι ἀναφέρειν εἶχον
τὰ γινόμενα λογιζόμενος οἷα ὁ Ἐτοιμοκλῆς ἄσιτος
ἔτι καὶ ἄποτος ἐγεγράφει. ἀνέστραπτο οὖν τὸ 35
πρᾶγμα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται κοσμίως πάνν ἐστιώ-
μενοι οὔτε παροινούντες οὔτε ἀσχημονούντες
ἐφαίνοντο, ἀλλ' ἐγέλων μόνον καὶ κατεγίνωσκον
αὐτῶν, οἶμαι, οὕς γε ἐθαύμαζον οἰόμενοί τινας
εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν σχημάτων, οἱ σοφοὶ δὲ ἡσέλγαινον
καὶ ἐλοιδοροῦντο καὶ ὑπερενεπίμπλαντο καὶ
ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦεσαν. ὁ θαυμάσιος
δὲ Ἀλκιδάμας καὶ εὐρύει² ἐν τῷ μέσῳ οὐκ

¹ οἷον Fritzsche: not in MSS.

² καὶ εὐρύει Buttman: καὶ ἐνούρει MSS.: καὶ εὐρύει
Fritzsche.

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have killed the old man if Aristaenetus had not stayed his hand, stepped over Zenothemis and lain down between them, to separate them and make them keep the peace with him for a dividing-wall.

While all this was going on, Philo, various thoughts were in my mind; for example, the very obvious one that it is no good knowing the liberal arts if one doesn't improve his way of living, too. At any rate, the men I have mentioned, though clever in words, were getting laughed at, I saw, for their deeds. And then I could not help wondering whether what everyone says might not after all be true, that education leads men away from right thinking, since they persist in having no regard for anything but books and the thoughts in them. At any rate, though so many philosophers were present, there really was not a single one to be seen who was devoid of fault, but some acted disgracefully and some talked still more disgracefully; and I could not lay what was going on to the wine, considering what Hetoemocles had written without having had either food or drink. The tables were turned, then, and the unlettered folk were manifestly dining in great decorum, without either getting maudlin or behaving disreputably; they simply laughed and passed judgement, perhaps, on the others, whom they used to admire, thinking them men of importance because of the garb they wore. The learned men, on the contrary, were playing the rake and abusing each other and gorging themselves and bawling and coming to blows; and "marvellous" Alcidas even made water right there in the room, without showing

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αἰδούμενος τὰς γυναῖκας. καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ὥς ἂν ἄριστα τις εἰκάσειεν, ὁμοιότατα εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ οἷς περὶ τῆς Ἑριδος οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ κληθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἐς τοῦ Πηλέως τὸν γάμον ῥίψαι τὸ μῆλον εἰς τὸ σύνδειπνον, ἀφ' οὗ τοσοῦτον πόλεμον ἐπ' Ἰλῖω γεγενῆσθαι. καὶ ὁ Ἑτοιμοκλῆς τοίνυν ἐδόκει μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον ὥσπερ τι μῆλον οὐ μείω τῆς Ἰλιάδος κακὰ ἐξεργάσασθαι.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ζηνόθεμιν καὶ 36
Κλεόδημον φιλονεικούντες, ἐπεὶ μέσος αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀρισταίνετος ἐγένετο· ἀλλὰ, “Νῦν μὲν,” ἔφη ὁ Κλεόδημος, “ἱκανόν, εἰ ἐλεγχθεῖητε ἀμαθεῖς ὄντες, αὔριον δὲ ἀμυνοῦμαι ὑμᾶς ὄντινα καὶ χρὴ τρόπον ἀπόκριναί μοι οὖν, ὦ Ζηνόθεμι, ἢ σὺ ἢ ὁ κοσμιώτατος Δίφιλος, καθ' ὃ τι ἀδιάφορον εἶναι λέγοντες τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτήσιν οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀπάντων σκοπεῖτε ὥς πλείω κτήσεσθε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀμφὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἀεὶ ἔχετε καὶ δανείζετε καὶ τοκογλυφεῖτε καὶ ἐπὶ μισθῷ παιδεύετε, πάλιν τε αὖ τὴν ἡδονὴν μισοῦντες καὶ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων κατηγοροῦντες αὐτοὶ τὰ αἰσχιστα ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα ποιεῖτε καὶ πάσχετε, ἀγανακτοῦντες εἴ τις μὴ καλέσειεν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον· εἰ δὲ καὶ κληθεῖητε, τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐσθίοντες, τοσαῦτα δὲ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐπιδιδόντες”—καὶ ἅμα λέγων τὴν ὀθόνην περι-
σπᾶν ἐπεχείρει, ἣν ὁ παῖς εἶχε τοῦ Ζηνοθέμιδος, μεστὴν οὖσαν παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν, καὶ ἔμελλε λύσας ἀπορρίπτειν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀλλ' ὁ

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any respect for the women. It seemed to me that, to use the best possible simile, the events of the dinner were very like what the poets tell of Discord. They say, you know, that, not having been asked to the wedding of Peleus, she threw the apple into the company, and that from it arose the great war at Troy.¹ Well, to my thinking Hetoemocles by throwing his letter into the midst of us like an Apple of Discord had brought on woes quite as great as those of the Iliad.

The friends of Zenothemis and Cleodemus did not stop quarrelling when Aristaenetus came between them. "For the present," said Cleodemus, "it is enough if you Stoics are shown up in your ignorance, but to-morrow I will pay you back as I ought. Tell me, then, Zenothemis, or you, Diphilus, you pattern of propriety, why it is that although you say money-getting is of no import, you aim at nothing in the world but getting more, and for this reason always hang about rich people and lend money and extort high interest and teach for pay; and again, why is it that although you hate pleasure and inveigh against the Epicureans, you yourselves do to others and suffer others to do to you all that is most shameful for pleasure's sake; you get angry if a man does not ask you to dinner, and when you are actually asked, you not only eat quantities but hand over quantities to your servants,"—and with that he tried to pull away the napkin that Zenothemis' slave was holding. It was full of meats of all kinds, and he intended to open it and throw its contents

¹ The golden apple, for the fairest of the goddesses, was awarded to Aphrodite by Paris, who was paid for his decision by being given the love of Helen.

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παῖς οὐκ ἀνῆκε καρτερῶς ἀντεχόμενος. καὶ ὁ 37
 Ἑρμῶν, “Εὖ γε,” ἔφη, “ὦ Κλεόδημε, εἰπάτωσαν
 οὔτινος ἔνεκα ἡδονῆς κατηγοροῦσιν αὐτοὶ ἡδεσθαι
 ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξιοῦντες.” “Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ σύ,”
 ἦ δ’ ὅς ὁ Ζηνόθεμις, “εἰπέ, ὦ Κλεόδημε, καθ’ ὃ τι
 οὐκ ἀδιάφορον ἡγῇ τὸν πλοῦτον.” “Οὐ μὲν οὖν,
 ἀλλὰ σύ.” καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦτο ἦν, ἄχρι δὴ ὁ
 Ἴων προκύνθας ἐς τὸ ἐμφανέστερον, “Παύσασθε,”
 ἔφη· “ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ δοκεῖ, λόγων ἀφορμὰς ὑμῖν ἀξίων
 τῆς παρούσης ἑορτῆς καταθήσω ἐς τὸ μέσον·
 ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀφιλονείκως ἐρεῖτε καὶ ἀκούσεσθε ὥσπερ
 ἀμέλει καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Πλάτῳ ἐν λόγοις
 ἡ πλείστη διατριβὴ ἐγένετο.” πάντες ἐπήνεσαν οἱ
 παρόντες, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρισταίνετον
 τε καὶ Εὐκριτον, ἀπαλλάξεσθαι τῆς ἀηδίας οὕτω
 γοῦν ἐλπίσαντες. καὶ μετῴθη τε ὁ Ἀρισταίνετος
 ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ τόπον εἰρήνην γεγενῆσθαι ἐλπίσας,
 καὶ ἅμα εἰσεκεκόμιστο ἡμῖν τὸ ἐντελὲς ὀνομαζό- 38
 μενον δεῖπνον, μία ὄρνις ἐκάστω καὶ κρέας ὑὸς
 καὶ λαγῶα καὶ ἰχθὺς ἐκ ταγῆνου καὶ σησαμούντες
 καὶ ὅσα ἐντραγεῖν, καὶ ἐξῆν ἀποφέρεσθαι ταῦτα.
 προὔκειτο δὲ οὐχ ἓν ἐκάστω πινάκιον, ἀλλ’ Ἀρι-
 σταίνετῳ μὲν καὶ Εὐκρίτῳ ἐπὶ μιᾷς τραπέζης
 κοινόν, καὶ τὰ παρ’ αὐτῷ ἐκάτερον ἐχρῆν λαβεῖν·
 Ζηνοθέμιδι δὲ τῷ Στωϊκῷ καὶ Ἑρμῶνι τῷ Ἐπι-
 κουρεῖῳ ὁμοίως κοινόν καὶ τούτοις· εἶτα ἐξῆς
 Κλεοδήμῳ καὶ Ἴωνι, μεθ’ οὗς τῷ νυμφίῳ καὶ
 ἐμοί, τῷ Διφίλῳ δὲ τὰ ἀμφοῖν, ὁ γὰρ Ζήνων
 ἀπεληλύθει. καὶ μέμνησό μοι τούτων, ὦ Φίλων,
 διότι δὴ ἐστὶ τι¹ ἐν αὐτοῖς χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν λόγον.

¹ τι Bekker : καὶ MSS. excised by Fritzsche.

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on the ground, but the slave clung to it stoutly and did not let him. "Bravo, Cleodemus," said Hermon; "let them tell why they inveigh against pleasure when they themselves want to have more of it than the rest of mankind." "No," said Zenothemis, "but do you, Cleodemus, say why you hold that wealth is important." "No, that is for you to do!" This went on for a long while, until Ion, bending forward to make himself more conspicuous, said: "Stop, and if you wish I will put before you a topic for a discussion worthy of the present festal day, and you shall talk and listen without quarrelling, exactly as in our Plato's circle, where most of the time was passed in discussion." All the guests applauded, especially Aristaenetus and Eucritus, who hoped at least to do away with the unpleasantness in that way. Aristaenetus went back to his own place, trusting that peace had been made, and at the same time we were served with what they call the "Full Dinner"—a bird apiece, boar's flesh and hare's, broiled fish, sesame-cakes and sweetmeats; all of which you had leave to carry away. They did not put a separate tray in front of each of us, but Aristaenetus and Eucritus had theirs together on a single table, and each was to take what was on his side. In like manner Zenothemis the Stoic and Hermon the Epicurean had theirs together, and then Cleodemus and Ion, who came next, and after them the bridegroom and myself; Diphilus, however, had two portions set before him, as Zeno had gone away. Remember all this, Philo, please, because it is of importance for my story.

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ΦΙΛΩΝ

Μεμνήσομαι δὴ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

‘Ο τοίνυν Ἴων, “Πρώτος οὖν ἄρχομαι,” ἔφη, 39
 “εἰ δοκεῖ.” καὶ μικρὸν ἐπισχών, “Ἐχρῆν μὲν
 ἴσως,” ἔφη, “τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν παρόντων περὶ ἰδεῶν
 τε καὶ ἀσωμάτων εἰπεῖν καὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας·
 ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀντιλέγωσί μοι ὅποσοι μὴ κατὰ ταῦτα¹
 φιλοσοφοῦσι, περὶ γάμων ἐρῶ τὰ εἰκότα. τὸ
 μὲν οὖν ἄριστον ἦν μὴ δεῖσθαι γάμων, ἀλλὰ
 πειθομένους Πλάτῳ καὶ Σωκράτει παιδευασθεῖν
 μόνοι γοῦν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀποτελεσθεῖεν ἂν πρὸς
 ἀρετῇ· εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ γυναικεῖον γάμον, κατὰ τὰ
 Πλάτῳ δοκοῦντα κοινὰς εἶναι ἐχρῆν² τὰς γυναι-
 κας, ὡς ἔξω ζήλου εἶμεν.”

Γέλως ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένετο ὡς οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ 40
 λεγομένοις. Διονυσόδωρος δέ, “Παῦσαι,” ἔφη,
 “βαρβαρικὰ ἡμῖν ἄδων, ποῦ γὰρ ἂν εὐρίσκοιμεν
 τὸν ζῆλον ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ παρὰ τίνι;” “Καὶ σὺ
 γὰρ φθέγγῃ, κάθαρμα;” εἶπεν ὁ Ἴων,³ καὶ
 Διονυσόδωρος ἀντελοιδореῖτο τὰ εἰκότα. ἀλλ’ ὁ
 γραμματικὸς Ἰστιαῖος ὁ βέλτιστος, “Παύσασθε,”
 ἔφη. “ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐπιθαλάμιον ἀναγνώσομαι.”
 καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀνεγίνωσκεν. ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα, εἴ γε 41
 μέμνημαι, τὰ ἐλεγεία·

‘Ἡ οἷη ποτ’ ἄρ’ ἦγ’⁴ Ἀρισταινέτου ἐν
 μεγάροισι
 διὰ Κλεανθὸς ἀνασσοῦ ἐτρέφετο ἐνδουκέως,

¹ ταῦτα vulg: ταῦτα MSS..

² ἐχρῆν du Soul: ἐκείνων MSS.

³ ὁ Ἴων Schafer, Bekker: οἷμαι MSS.

⁴ ἄρ’ ἦγ’ MSS.: ἄρ’ Dindorf.

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PHILO

I shall remember, of course.

LYCINUS

Well, Ion said: "Then I will begin first, if you like"; and after a little pause: "Perhaps with men of such distinction here we ought to talk of 'ideas' and incorporeal entities and the immortality of the soul; but in order that I may not be contradicted by all those who are not of the same belief in philosophy, I shall take the topic of marriage and say what is fitting. It were best not to need marriage, but to follow Plato and Socrates and be content with friendship: at all events only such as they can attain perfection in virtue. But if we must marry, we should have our wives in common, as Plato held, so as to be devoid of envy."

These remarks gave rise to laughter, as though they were made out of season. But Dionysodorus said: "Stop your outlandish jabbering! Where can the word envy be found in that sense, and in what author?"¹ "What, do you dare open your mouth, you scum of the earth?" said Ion, and Dionysodorus began to give him back his abuse in due form. But the grammarian Histiaeus (simple soul!) said: "Stop, and I will read you a wedding-song," and began to read. The verses were these, if I remember right:

O what a maiden in the halls
Of Aristaenetus
Her gentle nurture had, our queen
Cleanthis glorious!

¹ The rhetorician carps at Ion for using ζῆλος in the sense of ζήλοισις, 'jealousy in love.'

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προὔχουσ' ἀλλάων πασάων παρθενικάων,
 κρέσσων τῆς Κυθήρης ἢδ' ἅμα¹ τῆς Ἑλένης.
 νυμφίε, καὶ σὺ δὲ χαίρε, κρατερῶν κράτιστε
 ἐφήβων,²

κρέσσων Νιρῆος καὶ Θέτιδος παῖδος.
 ἅμμες δ' αὖθ' ὑμῖν τοῦτον θαλαμήϊον ὕμνον
 ξυνὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις πολλάκις ἀσόμεθα.

Γέλωτος οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γενο- 42
 μένου ἀνελέσθαι ἤδη τὰ παρακείμενα ἔδει, καὶ
 ἀνείλοντο οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀρισταίνετον καὶ Εὐκριτον
 τὴν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐκάτερος κἀγὼ τὰμὰ καὶ ὁ Χαιρέας
 ὅσα ἐκείνῳ ἔκειτο καὶ Ἴων ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Κλεόδη-
 μος. ὁ δὲ Δίφιλος ἡξίου καὶ τὰ τῷ Ζήνωνι δὴ
 ἀπόντι³ παραδοθέντα φέρεσθαι καὶ ἔλεγε μόνῳ
 παρατεθῆναί οἱ αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς διακόνους
 ἐμάχετο, καὶ ἀντέσπων τῆς ὀρνιθος ἐπειλημμένοι
 ὥσπερ τὸν Πατρόκλου νεκρὸν ἀνθέλκοντες, καὶ
 τέλος ἐνικήθη καὶ ἀφῆκε πολὺν γέλωτα παρα-
 σχὼν τοῖς συμπόταις, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ ἡγα-
 νάκει μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς ἂν τὰ μέγιστα ἡδικοημένος.

Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἑρμῶνα καὶ Ζηνόθεμιν ἅμα 43
 κατέκειντο, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ὁ μὲν ὑπεράνω ὁ
 Ζηνόθεμις, ὁ δ' ὑπ' αὐτόν· παρέκειτο δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ
 μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἴσα, καὶ ἀνείλοντο εἰρηνικῶς· ἡ

¹ ἅμα Guyet : αἶ MSS.

² Hopelessly corrupt : κράτιστε τεῶν συνεφήβων Dindorf.

³ ἀπόντι Hartman, Herwerden : ἀπιόντι MSS,

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Superior to other maids
As many as there be,
Than Aphrodite prettier
And Helen eke is she.
To you, O groom, a greeting too,
Most handsome of your mates
And handsomer than those of old
Of whom Homer relates.
We unto you the song you hear
Will sing repeatedly
To celebrate your wedding-day :
It's made for both you see !¹

That caused a laugh, as you can imagine ; and then it was time to take what was set before us. Aristænetus and Eucritus each took the portion in front of him : I took what was mine and Chaereas what was set before him, and Ion and Cleodemus did likewise. But Diphilus wanted to carry off not only his own but all that had been served for Zeno, who was away ; he said that it had been served to him alone, and fought with the servants. They caught hold of the bird and tried to pull it away from each other as if they were tugging at the body of Patroclus, and at last he was beaten and let go. He made the company laugh heartily, especially because he was indignant afterwards, just as if he had been done the greatest possible wrong.

Hermon and Zenothemis were lying side by side, as I have said, Zenothemis above and Hermon below him. The shares served them were identical in all but one point, and they began to take them

¹ The translator's version is perhaps better than the original : it could not be worse.

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δὲ ὄρνις ἡ πρὸ τοῦ Ἑρμῶνος πιμελεστέρα, οὕτως, οἶμαι, τυχόν. ἔδει δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκάτερον. ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν ὁ Ζηνόθεμις — καὶ μοι, ὦ Φίλων, πάνυ πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν, ὁμοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ἤδη τῷ κεφαλαίῳ τῶν πραχθέντων — ὁ δὲ Ζηνόθεμις, φημί, τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ἀφείς τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Ἑρμῶνος ἀνείλετο πιοτέραν, ὡς ἔφην, οὕσαν· ὁ δ' ἀντεπελάβετο καὶ οὐκ εἶα πλεονεκτεῖν. βοή τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ συμπεσόντες ἔπαιον ἀλλήλους ταῖς ὄρνισιν αὐταῖς ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα, καὶ τῶν πωγῶνων ἐπειληγμένοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο βοηθεῖν, ὁ μὲν τὸν Κλεόδημον ὁ Ἑρμῶν, ὁ δὲ Ζηνόθεμις Ἀλκιδάμαντα καὶ Δίφιλον, καὶ συνίσταντο οἱ μὲν ὡς τούτον, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐκείνον πλήν 44 μόνου τοῦ Ἴωνος· ἐκείνος δὲ μέσον ἑαυτὸν ἐφύλαττεν. οἱ δ' ἐμάχοντο συμπλακέντες, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ζηνόθεμις σκύφον ἀράμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης κείμενον πρὸ τοῦ Ἀρισταινέτου ῥίπτει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑρμῶνα,

κακείνου μὲν ἄμαρτε, παρὰ δὲ οἱ ἐτράπετ' ἄλλη, διεῖλε δὲ τοῦ νυμφίου τὸ κρανίον ἐς δύο χρηστῷ μάλα καὶ βαθεῖ τῷ τραύματι. βοή οὖν παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐγένετο καὶ κατεπήδησαν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον αἱ πολλαί, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ μεираκίου, ἐπεὶ τὸ αἷμα εἶδε· καὶ ἡ νύμφη δὲ ἀνεπήδησε φοβηθεῖσα περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ἠρίστευσε τῷ Ζηνοθέμιδι συμμαχῶν, καὶ πατάξας τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τοῦ Κλεοδήμου μὲν τὸ κρανίον, τοῦ Ἑρμῶνος δὲ τὴν σιαγόνα ἐπέτριψε καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐνίους βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειροῦντας κατέτρωσεν· οὐ μὲν ἀπετράποντο ἐκείνοι,

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peaceably. But the bird in front of Hermon was the plumper, just by chance, no doubt. In that case too each should have taken his own, but at this juncture Zenothemis—follow me closely, Philo, for we have now reached the crisis of events—Zenothemis, I say, let the bird beside him alone and proceeded to take the one before Hermon, which was fatter, as I have said. Hermon, however, seized it also and would not let him be greedy. Thereat there was a shout: they fell on and actually hit one another in the face with the birds, and each caught the other by the beard and called for help, Hermon to Cleodemus, and Zenothemis to Alcidas and Diphilus. The philosophers took sides, some with one, and some with the other, except Ion alone, who kept himself neutral, and they pitched in and fought. Zenothemis picked up a bowl that was on the table in front of Aristaenetus and threw it at Hermon,

And him it missed and went another way;¹ but it cracked the crown of the bridegroom, inflicting a wound that was generous and deep. Consequently there was an outcry from the women, and most of them sprang to the battle-field, especially the lad's mother when she saw the blood; and the bride also sprang from her place in alarm over him. Meanwhile Alcidas distinguished himself on the side of Zenothemis. Laying about him with his staff, he broke the head of Cleodemus and the jaw of Hermon, and he disabled several of the servants who were trying to rescue them. But the other

¹ Cf. *Iliad* 11, 233.

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ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κλεόδημος ὀρθῶ τῷ δακτύλῳ τὸν
 ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ Ζηνοθέμιδος ἐξώρυσσε καὶ τὴν ῥίνα
 προσφύς ἀπέτραγεν, ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῶν τὸν Δίφιλον
 ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἤκοντα τοῦ Ζηνοθέμιδος ἀφήκεν
 ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλιντήρος. ἐτρώθη δὲ καὶ 45
 Ἰστιαῖος ὁ γραμματικὸς διαλύειν αὐτοὺς ἐπι-
 χειρῶν, λάξ, οἶμαι, εἰς τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Κλεοδήμου Δίφιλον εἶναι οἰηθέντος. ἔκειτο
 γοῦν¹ ὁ ἄθλιος κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ Ὀμηρον “αἶμ'
 ἐμέων.” πλὴν ταραχῆς γε καὶ δακρύων μεστὰ
 ἦν πάντα. καὶ αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἐκώκουν τῷ
 Χαιρέᾳ περιχυθεῖσαι, . . . ² οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατέ-
 πανον. μέγιστον δὲ ἦν ἀπάντων κακῶν ὁ Ἀλκι-
 δάμας, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐτρέψατο, παίων
 τὸν προστυχόντα· καὶ πολλοὶ ἄν, εὖ ἴσθι, ἔπεσον
 εἰ μὴ κατέαξε τὴν βακτηρίαν. ἐγὼ δὲ παρὰ τὸν
 τοῖχον ὀρθὸς ἐφεστὼς ἑώρων ἕκαστα οὐκ ἀνα-
 μιγνύς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου διδαχθεῖς, ὡς
 ἔστιν ἐπισφαλὲς διαλύειν τὰ τοιαῦτα. Λαπίθας
 οὖν καὶ Κενταύρους εἶπες ἄν, εἰ εἶδες³ τραπέζας
 ἀνατρεπομένας καὶ αἷμα ἐκκεχυμένον καὶ σκύ-
 φους ῥιπτομένους.

Τέλος δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ἀνατρέψας τὸ λυχνίον 46
 σκότος μέγα ἐποίησε, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
 μακρῷ χαλεπώτερον ἐγεγένητο· καὶ γὰρ οὐ ῥαδίως
 εὐπόρησαν φωτὸς ἄλλου, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ ἐπράχθη
 καὶ δεινὰ ἐν τῷ σκότῳ. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆν τις λύχνον

¹ γοῦν A.M.H. : οὖν MSS.

² Lacuna Gertz : οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οἰκέται Fritzsche : οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι Bekker.

³ εἶπες ἄν, εἰ εἶδες Gertz : εἶδες ἄν MSS.

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side did not give way, for Cleodemus with a stiff finger gouged out the eye of Zenothemis and got him by the nose and bit it off, while as for Hermon, when Diphilus was coming to the support of Zenothemis he threw him head first from the touch. Histiaeus the grammarian was wounded, too, in trying to separate them—he was kicked in the teeth, I think, by Cleodemus, who supposed him to be Diphilus. At all events the poor fellow was laid low, “vomiting gore,” as his own Homer says. The whole place, however, was full of noise and tears, and the women, gathered about Chaereas, were wailing, while the rest of the men were trying to quiet things down. Alcidas was the greatest nuisance in the world, for when he had once routed his opponents he hit everybody that fell in his way. Many would have gone down before him, you may be sure, if he had not broken his staff. As for me, I stood by the wall and watched the whole performance without taking part in it, for Histiaeus had taught me how risky it is to try to part such fights. You would have said they were Lapiths and Centaurs, to see tables going over, blood flowing and cups flying.

At last Alcidas knocked over the lamp-stand and brought on profound darkness, and as you can imagine, the situation became far worse, for it was not easy for them to provide more light, while on the other hand many dire deeds were done in the darkness. When some one finally came in with a

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ποτὲ κομίζων, κατελήφθη Ἀλκιδάμας μὲν τὴν αὐλητρίδα ἀπογυμνῶν καὶ πρὸς βίαν συνενεχθῆναι αὐτῇ σπουδάζων, Διονυσόδωρος δὲ ἄλλο τι γελοῖον ἐφωράθη πεποικώς· σκύφος γὰρ ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου ἑξαναστάντος αὐτοῦ. εἴτ' ἀπολογούμενος Ἴωνα ἔφη ἀνελόμενον ἐν τῇ ταραχῇ δοῦναι αὐτῷ, ὅπως μὴ ἀπόλοιτο, καὶ ὁ Ἴων κηδεμονικῶς ἔλεγε τοῦτο πεποικέναι.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις διελύθη τὸ συμπόσιον τελευτήσαν 47 ἐκ τῶν δακρύων αὐθις ἐς γέλωτα ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλκιδάμαντι καὶ Διονυσοδώρῳ καὶ Ἴωνι. καὶ οἳ τε τραυματίαι φοράδην ἐξεκομίζοντο πονήρως ἔχοντες, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ πρεσβύτης ὁ Ζηνόθεμις ἀμφοτέραις τῇ μὲν τῆς ῥινός, τῇ δὲ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐπειλημμένος, βοῶν ἀπόλλυσθαι ὑπ' ἀλγηδόνων, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἑρμωνα καίπερ ἐν κακοῖς ὄντα—δύο γὰρ ὀδόντας ἐξεκέκοπτο—ἀντιμαρτύρεσθαι λέγοντα, “Μέμνησο μέντοι, ὦ Ζηνόθεμι, ὡς οὐκ ἀδιάφορον ἡγῇ τὸν πόνον.” καὶ ὁ νυμφίος δὲ ἀκεσαμένου τὸ τραῦμα τοῦ Διονίκου ἀπήγετο ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ταινίαις κατειλημένος τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἐπὶ τὸ ζευγος ἀνατεθεὶς ἐφ' οὗ τὴν νύμφην ἀπάξειν ἔμελλε, πικροὺς ὁ ἄθλιος τοὺς γάμους ἑορτάσας· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὁ Διόνικος ἐπεμελεῖτο δὴ τὰ δυνατά, καὶ καθευδήσαντες ἀπήγοντο ἐμούντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς. ὁ μέντοι Ἀλκιδάμας αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν· οὐ γὰρ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης πλαγίως ἐκάθευδε,

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lamp, Alcidas was caught stripping the flute-girl and trying to ravish her, while Dionysodorus was found to have done something else that was ridiculous, for as he got up a bowl fell out of the folds of his cloak. Then by way of clearing himself he said that Ion had picked it up in the confusion and had given it to him, so that it might not get lost; and Ion considerably said that he had done so.

Thereupon the dinner-party broke up. After the tears, it had ended in a new burst of laughter over Alcidas, Dionysodorus and Ion. The wounded men were carried away in sorry condition, especially the old man Zenothemis, who had one hand on his nose and the other on his eye and was shouting that he was dying with pain, so that Hermon, in spite of his own sad plight (for he had had two teeth knocked out) called attention to it and said: "Just remember, Zenothemis, that you do consider pain of some consequence, after all!" The bridegroom, after his wound had been dressed by Dionicus, was taken home with his head wrapped in bandages, in the carriage in which he had expected to take away his bride; it was a bitter wedding that he celebrated, poor fellow! As for the rest, Dionicus did the best he could for them and they were taken off to bed, most of them vomiting in the streets. But Alcidas stayed right there, for they could not turn the man out, once he had thrown himself down crosswise on the couch and gone to sleep.

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Τοῦτό σοι τέλος, ὦ καλὲ Φίλων, ἐγένετο τοῦ 48
συμποσίου, ἣ ἄμεινον τὸ τραγικὸν ἐκείνο ἐπειπεῖν,

πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων,
πολλὰ δ' ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοί,
καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὐκ ἐτελέσθη·

ἀπροσδόκητα γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπέβη καὶ ταῦτα.
ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν¹ μεμάθηκα ἤδη, ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς
ἄπρακτον ὄντα συνεστιᾶσθαι τοιούτοις σοφοῖς.

¹ γε μὴν Bekker, Dindorf : μὴν not in MSS. : γε not in all MSS.

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Well, Philo, that was the end of the dinner-party: it would be better, though, to say at the close as they do in the plays of Euripides:

In many shapes appear the powers above,
And many things the gods surprise us with,
While those we look for do not come about.¹

For all of it, you know, was quite unexpected. This much, however, I have at last learned, that it is not safe for a man of peace to dine with men so learned.

¹ These lines occur at the close of the *Alcestis*, the *Andromache*, the *Bacchae* and the *Helen*, and, with a slight change, in the *Medea*.



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